UNIVERSITY OF
LINCOLN

How does gender non-conformity intolerance impact homonegativity? An exploration of attitudes and behaviours towards lesbians.

N N Dale

MSc by Research 2019

How does gender non-conformity intolerance impact homonegativity? An exploration of attitudes and behaviours towards lesbians.

Natasha Nicole Dale

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Lincoln for the degree of MSc by Research

School of Psychology

Doctoral College

May 2019

Contents

List of tables

List of figures

Abstract

The current research explores the importance of including gender non-conformity prejudice within research on negative attitudes and behaviours towards lesbians. The connectivity between lesbian homosexuality and masculine presentation are considered, as previous research has consistently shown that sexuality incongruity to the prescribed norm, prescribed incongruent gender presentation (Greene, 2007). The theory of heteronormativity, which conceptualises prescribed societal sexuality and genders norms (Habarth, 2015), themes this body of work. Across two studies, the impact of gender role beliefs and gender presentation on homonegativity was explored, to demonstrate the complexity of variable relationships effecting homonegative attitudes and behaviour. In the first study, experimental design used four vignettes (masculine presenting homosexual, feminine presenting homosexual and vice versa heterosexual women) to identify gender presentation and sexuality main effects and interactions. Using an online opportunity sample (n = 282). Results showed that vignettes with masculine appearance scored higher for passive harm and homosexual vignettes were scored higher for active harm. The second study explored attitudinal and behaviour variable relationships again using an opportunity sample (n = 385). Results showed that the heteronormativity scale (assumptions that gender binary and heterosexuality are normative) reduced positive behaviour towards homosexuals, through social distancing. Results also showed that the effect gender non-conformity prejudice has on discriminatory behaviour, is fully mediated by sexuality prejudice. Together, both studies show the complex relationships between gender non-conformity and sexuality prejudice. Conclusions drawn encourage further investigation of intersectional identities and promotes effective directions for future work in regards to reducing discriminatory behaviour and studying homonegative attitude

Acknowledgments

Although this work is my own, it wouldn't be what it is without the good people around me. I feel a huge thank you is in order;

To Ava: for believing in me and helping me to start a career in research.

To Patrick: for always telling me I could achieve anything.

To Stefano: for coaching me, being a true role-model and fantastic supervisor. For picking me up when I failed, reminding me not to sell myself short, and demanding perfection!

To Becky and Nadia: my research sisters. Who not only supported me when times got bad, but were with me for every win. I love you both, and I'm grateful this opportunity brought us together.

To Beth, Alex and Jay: whose continual love and support make it possible for me to strive to reach my goals.

1

General Introduction

Introduction

Although some research would indicate that attitudes towards sexual minorities are improving (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014), negative behaviour towards homosexuals persists. Meta-analysis has shown that compared to heterosexuals, homosexual individuals experience a wide range of victimising behaviour, due to societal devaluation of homosexuality (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012). Kats-wise & Hydes' analysis, which included over 500,000 participants, found many forms of negative behaviour towards homosexuals. Ranging from physical violence (i.e: assault, experienced by 28% of the overall sample), threat (37%) general discrimination from others (41%) and verbal harassment (55%). This evidence shows high rates of multiple kinds of negative behaviour towards homosexual individuals. The bigger picture of isolated events is the contribution they make towards unhospitable environments. Systematic marginalisation results in hostile and stressful environments which create minority stress (Meyer, 2003). This increases poor mental (Dworkin et al,, 2018) and physical health in homosexual individuals (Frost, Lehavot & Meyer, 2015). Therefore, negative experiences still persist for homosexual individuals, due to both individual acts of negative behaviour and the societal environments which they contribute to. Research is needed to identify factors that increase negative behaviour towards homosexual individuals, to work towards creating equal and protective environments within society for sexual minorities.

Previously, research into prejudice against sexual minorities has been criticised for not investigating lesbians individually (Lee & Crawford, 2007). Even despite early lesbian feminist analysis which suggested lesbian oppression was qualitatively different from gay male oppression (Kitzinger, 1987; Rich, 1980), it has been common practice to collapse respondent's attitudes towards the topic of "gay men and lesbians". This is problematic as

research on ‘homosexuals’ generally focuses on gay males, recycling the content made specifically for this group and presuming that it is applicable to gay women (Worthen, 2013). This was drawn from the assumption that homonegativity did not differ according to sexual orientation group. However, sexual minorities are not viewed similarly, warranting individual evaluation of the prejudice towards each group individually (Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Vaughn, Teeters, Sadler, & Cronan, 2016). Research on lesbians alone has highlighted several factors effecting homonegativity against gay women. One topic which is prominent, is gender.

History, Heteronormativity and Gender

Early psychological research on attitudes towards homosexual individuals was investigated alongside analysis of their gender presentation. For example, Freudian theory proposed that because homosexuals shared the same sexual orientation of the gender opposite to theirs, they took on their characteristics (Freud, 1975). This work was furthered by researchers Kite and Deux (1987) who developed the Implicit Inversion theory based on the root assumption that masculinity and femininity, and homosexuality and heterosexuality, are opposites of each other. This theory was based on prescribed gender roles which quantify the appropriate attributes of men and women, from which much research on homosexuals has been based on (Herek, 2000b; McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Inversion theory findings were supported in 2009, confirming that although some changes had occurred in terms of status of homosexual men and women in the US, the stereotype of homosexuality and gender non-conformity remained (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a). Prejudice against gender non-conformity is classified as negative attitudes or differential treatment of individuals not adhering to socially prescribed gender roles (Gordon & Meyer, 2007). Furthermore, research into both sexuality and gender

non-conformity prejudice proposed that the two were connected, with incongruence in one predicting incongruence in another (Greene, 2007). With relevance to issues in 2019, it is therefore important to distinguish how lesbians are still being effected by intolerance to their sexuality or gender presentation.

One theory behind sexuality and gender non-conformity intolerance is the heteronormativity theory. Heteronormativity defines the boundaries of relationships and identities which are socially acceptable (Habarth, 2015). In doing so, this defines the sociocultural bias for dominant heterosexuality and gender binary (Warner, 1991). Bigenderism conceptualises male and female sex as opposing dimensions driving gendered expectations. The main assumption is that the two sexes predict gender, and therefore because of their gender, men and women should have different gender roles and act differently to one another (eg: Gilbert, 2009). As a core aspect of heteronormativity, bigenderism has been interpreted as the background theory behind the social pressure to conform to gender roles (Tolman, 2006). For example, culturally prescribed heterosexual gender roles are enforced by creating an environment where compliance to these roles is the only acceptable-norm (Kitzinger, 2005; Nielsen, Walden & Kunkel, 2000). Privileged status is afforded to individuals who conform to gender binary expectations and heterosexuality (Brickell, 2001), as well as punishing those who do not (Yep, 2003). The theory of heteronormativity has relevance on a societal level as forced compliance to acceptable roles shapes policies and institutional environments, shaping social norms to allow maintenance of inequality (Epstein, OFlynn & Telford, 2003). Therefore heteronormative attitudes, fuelled by bigenderism, prescribe the very boundaries and assumptions that make negative attitudes towards outgroups possible. The theory therefore suggests that heteronormative beliefs may be the background assumptions behind negative attitudes towards homosexuality and gender non-conformity (Ward & Schneider, 2009). Furthermore, suggesting that beliefs about homosexual individuals violating gender

binary and heterosexual roles, are the activators for negative attitudes and behaviour towards homosexuals (Lick & Johnson 2014; Massey, 2009; Yep, 2003). The current research therefore questions the role of heteronormative beliefs as both a theory and measure affecting other variables. Heteronormative beliefs are of particular interest because research has suggested that adherence to gender roles is on the decline (Swim, Mallet, Russo-Devosa & Stangor, 2005). More research is needed therefore to understand how prevalent these attitudes are within society. Furthermore, the effect that these attitudes have on lesbians, in relation to their gender presentation or other gender role beliefs, has yet to be considered.

Previous research demonstrates the importance of considering gender beliefs within prejudice against lesbians, implicitly supporting the theory of heteronormativity. For example, discrimination against sexual minorities has been shown to be as a result of not only a negative reaction to sexual orientation, but perceived violations of traditional gender roles (Blashill, & Powlishta, 2009a; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Traditional attitudes on gender roles are situated in beliefs about the appropriate roles for men and women (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Regarding feminine appearance, behaviour and beliefs that homosexuality rejects gender binary through not fulfilling heterosexual roles (Doyle, Rees & Titus, 2015; Habbarth, 2015). Lesbian non-conformity to feminine gender roles and associated rejection of this, increases anti-lesbian attitudes (Wilkinson, 2006). One study of socio-demographic predictors concluded gender role beliefs to be the strongest predictor of attitudes towards lesbians, with traditional gender role beliefs correlating positively with anti-lesbian attitudes (Brown and Henriquez 2008; Parrott & Gallagher, 2008). This has also been replicated in meta-analytic review showing that gender-role beliefs accounted for a significant proportion of prejudice against homosexuals (Whitley, 2001).

The topic of gender role transgression is particularly important to the topic of attitudes towards lesbians, due to the importance of visual identity within this group (see Hayfield,

Clarke, Halliwell & Malson, 2013 for a comprehensive review). Feminist scholars have understood that appearance and dress are integral because they serve to articulate sexual desires and identities within marginalised sexualities, that would otherwise go unnoticed (Wilson, 2003). This is particularly relevant in the study of lesbians. Visual identities of butch lesbian women mirror the associated masculinity. Butch style includes; short hair, minimal makeup, a particular style of jewellery and tattoos as well as masculine clothing (Clarke & Spence, 2013). It is important to note that qualitative research shows that lesbians are a complex and diverse group, with several subtypes understood at both the in-group and out-group level (Clarke & Spence, 2013; Hayfield et al,, 2013). Lesbian subtypes include information grouping each identity based on masculine or feminine gender presentation, although that is not where the possibilities end (Geiger, Harwood & Hummert, 2006). Quantitative research has been criticised for researching lesbians as an overall group rather than their subtypes (Vaughn et al,, 2017). However, when based in subtype, previous work has used those relating to gender presentation, such as masculine or feminine presenting. Evidence of visual stereotyping is prevalent in the literature, documented in studies investigating negative attitude towards lesbians as early as 1980. Such research included content such as how lesbians are 'butch' or 'macho' (Laner & Laner, 1980). Connectivity between anti-lesbian attitudes and traditional attitudes towards female gender roles has been since presumed, with evidence to support it (Greene, 2007). For example, respondents who place great importance on feminine attributes have been shown to hold more negative attitudes towards lesbians (Basow & Johnson, 2000). Research shows a trend for negativity toward gender non-conforming appearance, including perceiving gender atypical faces as being lesbian (Freeman, Johnson, Ambady & Rule, 2010). As well as negative evaluations of gender atypical appearance (Lick & Johnson, 2013), leading to increased prejudice (Lick & Johnson, 2014). When taken in conjunction with evidence that lesbians with butch gender-

presentation experience higher levels of stressors such as victimisation (Levitt & Heistand, 2005; Levitt & Horne 2002; Wyss 2004), there is good evidence that gender non-conforming presentation has increased negative consequence for lesbians. Such findings illustrate the history of linked homosexuality and gender presentation non-conformity. Therefore to further this research, this work proposes to investigate other aspects of homonegativity towards lesbians with a gender lens. To explore how sexual prejudice is affected by attitudes towards gender presentation and gender role. This research therefore aims to understand the extent of the effect that gender presentation such as masculine and feminine subtype or attitudes towards gender roles, has prejudice towards lesbians.

Considering the history of gender on negative attitude towards lesbians, the definition used for prejudice against homosexual individuals needs to be gender inclusive. The study of prejudice against homosexual individuals has gone through several waves since George Weinberg's definition of "homophobia", a contagion and religious based fear of becoming or being close to homosexual people (1972). It is of great importance that the current research defines the area of sexual prejudice it will investigate, stemming from the subject area having many terms to define prejudice against non-heterosexual individuals. The overlapping similarities between defining terms are often unhelpful, due to the conflict in understanding brought about by having several terms for similar things. Therefore the chosen term for this thesis is Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Prejudice (SOGIP), which defines negative attitudes towards individuals or groups based on their actual or perceived sexuality or gender (Cramwinkle, Scheepers & van der Toorn, 2018). It is a rejection of gender diversity, be that through sexual orientation, gender roles, identity or gender expression. Allowing this research to explore gender presentation of women as a concept both intertwined with sexuality prejudice, and as a factor of itself with negative attitudinal and behavioural consequences. Additionally, the term homonegativity will be used, to describe negative attitude towards

lesbians as an umbrella term allowing for discussion of both modern and traditional conceptualisations of negative attitude to be compared. Homonegativity is a term used for any negative response (both attitudinal and behavioural) that is directed at an individual because they are homosexual (Cerny & Polyson 1984).

Negative Attitudes towards Lesbians

Homonegativity is still a relevant field of study for lesbian women, despite research that suggests that attitudes are changing and that homosexuals are much more accepted in society compared to previous years (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014; Newman, 2007). The beginning of noticing substantial social attitudinal change can be evidenced just before the 21st century. In this period, the Attitudes Towards Lesbians scale (ATL; Herek, 1988) was most often used to measure homonegativity. It is distinguished for being well validated, and reliable in consistently reporting high levels of traditional homonegativity (Herek, 1994). Traditional homonegativity conceptualises negative attitudes towards lesbians or gay men, based in moral or religious justification (Herek, 1988). In recent years, this scale has begun to report lower levels of these attitudes (Hicks & Lee, 2006). As proposed by Morrison and Morrison (2002), results suggesting that homonegativity was reducing were coming from studies reporting mean scores of 38.7 and 37.6 (Simon, 1995; Simoni, 1996). Being that on this scale, scores of 50 – 60 represent neutrality, these results were reported as an improvement in tolerance compared to previous mean levels of traditional homonegativity. Suggesting that aside from the main hypotheses of these studies, to test correlates of traditional homonegativity, these studies were evidencing that homonegativity in student samples were decreasing. These results therefore suggested that there had been a reduction in negative attitudes towards lesbians over time, which multilevel analysis of 79 countries recently

confirmed (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014). However despite these conclusions, homonegativity has continued to be evidenced as having a pervasive nature when homosexual people report their experiences (Jewel, McCutcheon, Harriman & Morrison, 2012). Furthermore, research using different methodology suggests a more complex picture as it evidences the persistent negative experiences of lesbians. For example, one study showed that 40% of a sample of lesbians reported having being harassed in public about their sexual orientation (Bostwick, Boyd, Hughes, West & McCabe, 2014).

The conclusions that negative attitudes were reducing however, were being drawn from measurements of traditional homonegativity alone. Researchers began to consider that attitudinal change may be present, meaning that although traditional homonegativity had less predictive power than before, homonegativity may still be present in a different form (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Research into racial prejudice states that over recent years, prejudice has mutated from blatant forms to subtle expressions that are less recognisable (Dovidio & Gartner, 2004). This has been found within sexual prejudice research, supporting that blatant expressions, in this case traditional homonegativity (Herek & McLemore, 2013), have become less present within samples than subtle attitudes, such as modern homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2011). Modern homonegative beliefs are prejudicial attitudes justified within the belief that homosexuals no longer need to ask for equality (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Indeed, research shows that not only is homonegativity prevalent, but gender and sexuality prejudice is higher when compared to other types of prejudice (Herek & McLemore, 2013). The current research aims to investigate the potential homonegative attitudinal shift within one minority group, lesbians. Modern homonegativity has been classed as a subtle prejudice, as like other subtle prejudices it evokes implicit negative associations and nonverbal negative behaviour (Cramwinckle et al,, 2018). Research also shows that expressions of subtle prejudice do not reflect a more egalitarian view, but

rather an internalised rejection of the social norms that reject blatant prejudice. Expressers often lack awareness that the attitudes are discriminatory as they are not founded in the same justifications as the blatant sexual prejudice which the individuals reject (Krolikowski, Rinella & Ratcliff, 2016). Subtle forms of prejudice are necessary to address within a gender presentation perspective as individuals who have higher levels of sexual prejudice have more negative gender role attitudes (Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000). Therefore relationships between the two need further investigation. The impact of gender presentation on modern homonegative attitudes will be explored to provide further evidence of convergent validity for the scale.

Discriminatory Behaviour

The need for greater understanding of anti-homosexual behaviour has been highlighted in the past, as overall fewer papers have investigated behaviour in comparison to homonegative attitude (Whitely, 2001; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Herek, 2000a). Even fewer studies have investigated homonegative behaviour, as effected by attitude towards gender role or gender presentation. Of those that have, 'hyper-gender-role orientation' was found to be a significant predictor for anti-gay behaviour (Whitley, 2001). This research continues to question the impact of gender beliefs, extending the range of interest to behaviours. Within the study of homonegative attitudes and behaviour, social psychology has been criticised for viewing differences between homosexual and heterosexual groups, as only negative (Massey, 2010). The overuse of unipolar measurements misses the opportunity to explore improved attitudes within society. This study aims to highlight the complexity within negative views and behaviours towards lesbians, but will also study positive engagement as not to make the same mistake. Research has shown that people with lower anti-lesbian attitudes, report greater

lesbian-affirming behaviours (Matthews, Selvidge, & Fisher, 2005; Schope & Eliason, 2000). Although one has study found no link between anti-lesbian attitudes affirming behaviours (Bieschke & Matthews, 1996). Furthermore, lack of positive behaviour has found to be associated with sexual prejudice (Fingerhut, 2011; Poteat, 2015; Poteat & Vecho, 2016). A lack of positive behaviour could be considered therefore as an act of subtle discrimination as reluctance to oppose sexual prejudice supports societal discrimination (Cramwinkle et al,, 2018). This research will therefore questions the role of attitudes towards gender non-conformity and modern homonegative attitudes in their impact on both positive and negative behaviour.

Social Distance

One key manifestation of homonegativity is keeping distance from homosexual individuals. Social distancing is defined as an unwillingness to accept or approve intimacy of interaction with the mentioned outgroup (Williams, 1964). The direction however of the relationship that social distancing behaviour has with attitudes and behaviours towards lesbian women, is complex. The relationship it holds with attitudes and behaviours towards lesbians however is multidirectional, working as both a predictor and outcome.

As a predictor, meta-analysis has repeatedly found a significant relationship between more contact with homosexual individuals, and a reduction in sexual prejudice (Smith, Axelton & Saucier, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). These studies show that attitudes towards outgroups are more favourable when in-group members have personal contact with members of the out-group. Specifically, these meta-analyses note that the largest effects (mean r =.271) were found in studies investigating contact between heterosexuals and homosexuals (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Bigger effects were also found between heterosexuals and lesbians, in

comparison to heterosexuals and other sexual orientation groups (Smith et al,, 2009). The positive relationship was due to heterosexuals learning more about the out-group, therefore empathising and becoming less anxious in their interactions. This is consistent with Intergroup Contact theory, which states that positive conditions (i.e.: close friendship) with a member of the out-group, in this case lesbians, can reduce negative attitudes towards them (Allport, 1954). Contact Theory has been widely used in research on homonegativity (Smith et al,, 2009; Anderssen, 2002). However, the studies on sexuality from both meta-analyses were conducted between the 1960s and the early 2000s. As previously mentioned, homonegative attitudes appear to be changing (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014; Morrison & Morrison, 2002), therefore the conclusions from these studies may not be representative of the current social climate. However, as previous research has evidenced social distancing as a key element within prejudice against lesbians, continuing research into this would be beneficial. More recent research has shown contact with lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals has a positive effect on increasing positive attitudes, making it a key topic of interest in behavioural change interventions (Bartos, Berger & Hegarty, 2014). This shows that the variable causes not only a reduction in prejudice, but an increase in positivity towards lesbians, therefore moving individuals away from ambivalence and improving homosexuality acceptance. For these reasons it a key variable in research surrounding attitudes and behaviour towards lesbians, particularly in this project aiming to re-examine variable relationships with a focus on the role of gender presentation.

Not only does social distancing have predictive ability, but it also functions as a measure of outcome as affected by other variables. Social distance has been proposed as a subtle behavioural outcome of sexual prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2002) and other research has linked gender non-conformity to the relationship between sexual prejudice and contact Collier, Bos & Standfort, 2012). Therefore, further exploration into how gender non-

conformity and sexual prejudice work independently or together to result in social distancing is warranted. It is proposed that the nature of positive contact with lesbians, relies on social distancing working in a multidimensional way. For example, a longitudinal study found that change in frequency of contact with lesbians, related to more positive attitudes towards them. As well as this, it also found that change in positive attitude resulted in an increase in frequency and closeness of contact (Anderssen, 2002). This shows that the benefit of the positive contact was twofold. This is also well illustrated in Anderssen's (2002) own analysis which explains that disclosure of sexuality relies on trust, which would more likely be given to someone with positive homosexual attitudes. Although generalising across all sexuality groups, this describes that individuals need to feel safe to who they disclose their sexuality to. So, in other words, less social distancing is likely occurring between individuals who have expressed positive attitudes towards lesbians, as lesbians are willing to disclose their sexuality to these individuals. To explore this relationship with a gender lens, would be to explore how gender presentation effects social distancing. As previously mentioned gender presentation within the lesbian community communicates sexual preference (Hayfield et al,, 2013) yet how this visual marker effects a key variable within prejudice such as social distancing is yet to be explored.

Research questions

Based on the preceding literature review, the following research questions were identified:

- What role in prejudice against women do gender role violations play? Are they as key in understanding prejudice against lesbians as first thought?
- Do gender role attitudes and gender presentation prejudice affect different forms of negative attitudes and behaviour differently?
- What is the role of social distancing, as a predictor or outcome within prejudice against lesbians?

As shown, prejudice against lesbians has historically been tied with gender, through studies on attitudes towards gender role and rejection of gender non-conforming presentation. However, much of the given research on gender role attitude and gender non-conformity was conducted on traditional homonegativity, using the religious based Attitudes Towards Lesbians scale (Herek, 1988). Therefore, critical analysis of the role of both these variables needs to be considered in modern context. The need for an update in this literature further stems from research that has suggested that adherence to gender roles is on the decline (Swim, et al,, 2005). On the other hand, recent overview of interventions to reduce homonegativity concluded both sexual orientation and gender prejudice as an area of key importance (Cramwinkle, Scheepers & van der Toorn, 2018). Critical examination is needed to identify the complexity of the relationships, past the themes of previous research concluding that sexual orientation and gender are connected and incongruence in one presumes incongruence in the other (Greene, 2007). Two studies will evaluate the extent to which gender is influential on a manner of prejudicial outcomes. Aiming as a body of work to identify the effect of gender presentation and gender role beliefs on prejudicial attitude and

behaviour. Firstly, this research proposes to research the impact of gender non-conforming presentation in study one using experimental method. Then in the second study, to investigate the impact of gender role beliefs on attitudes and behaviours towards lesbians. There will be consideration that prejudice against lesbians may stem from a rejection of gender diversity, as it is this which ties gender role research and gender identity research to homosexuality research. This research will also consider gender beliefs as a starting point for prejudice against lesbians, through testing the theory of heteronormativity. Therefore intending to further the understanding of not only how prevalent prescriptive beliefs about gender are, but also their impact on lesbians.

2

Gender Presentation and Sexual Prejudice as Causational Factors in Negative Attitudes and Behaviours towards Women.

Introduction

Arguments have been made that negative evaluations of gay individuals are more attributed to the sexuality of the target, rather than their gender presentation (Schope & Eliason 2004). Additionally, despite the history of presumed connection between lesbians and masculine presentation, some evidence supports that the two concepts act independent of each other (Blashill & Powlishta 2009a). However whilst stating this evidence, both studies found gender roles to be an important aspect within negative evaluations. Furthermore, one of the study's found gender roles to have a more consistent effect as compared to sexual orientation (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a). Masculine appearance, a gender role non-conforming presentation of appearance is essential to research on lesbians as research suggests that whereas gay men are judged on their behaviour, lesbian women are judged more on their appearance (Lick & Johnson, 2014). However, previous research investigating gender a-typicality has tended to focus on gendered behaviour (such as hobbies, occupations and interests (Liben & Bigler, 2002). Considering the given evidence, this work instead aims to research the impact of non-conforming appearance on homonegative attitudes and behaviour, as a potentially key affecting factor.

The outcome of prejudice against masculine gender presentation on lesbians can be seen in higher reports of victimisation for lesbians who are gender-atypical (Rivers & Cowie, 2006), as well as the frequent mention of gender in personal recounts of hate crimes (Gordon & Mayer, 2007). Frequency of discrimination due to gender presentation was found to be significantly different amongst lesbian subtypes. The three main subtypes of gender presentation of lesbians are; 'butch' masculine presenting women, 'femme' hyper feminine presenting women and 'androgynous' presentation which is both highly masculine and feminine (see Hayfield et al,, 2013 for a comprehensive review). Butch women reported

facing the most discrimination from heterosexual society, followed by androgynous, "other" and femme women. From this, notable differences between butch and femme women, butch and other, as well as femme and androgynous women were found (all $p = .001$; Levitt & Horne, 2002). The combination of both homosexuality and non-conforming gender identity, termed "double violators" by Lehavot and Lambert (2007) has been shown to be associated with most prejudice.

As mentioned in chapter 1, studies into perceived identity have shown that participants tend to categorise gender non-conforming appearances they observe, as faces of a lesbian (Freeman et al 2010). Participants may therefore discriminate against masculine presenting women most (despite sexual orientation), lesbians most (despite gender presentation) or masculine presenting lesbians most (due to a "double violator effect"; Lehavot and Lambert (2007). These effects are hypothesised to be present in modern homonegativity scores, social distancing and overt behaviour.

Modern Homonegative Attitudes

Modern homonegativity was created from the observation that college students tend to reject pejorative beliefs (Morrison & Morrison 2002). Modern homonegativity conceptualises beliefs that concern rejection of activism and equality on the basis of three sets of criteria. Firstly, that call for change is an unnecessary demand. This is based on the rationalisation that discrimination towards homosexual people is a thing of the past. Secondly, that homosexuals hold their sexuality of too high importance, not fitting in and therefore bringing marginalisation on themselves. This can be explained as a belief that homosexual people exaggerate the importance of their sexuality which prevents them from assimilating into mainstream society. This is also evident in attitudes relating to gay pride and the belief that

sexual minorities "flaunt their sexuality" (Anderson & Kanner, 2011, p.1552). Lastly, that institutions give special favours to sexual minority groups (e.g.: government social support) and therefore discrimination against homosexuals is no longer a relevant social issue (Morrison & Morrison, 2011). In the western world this is may be expressed in terms of homosexuals now having the right to marry. Although as previously mentioned, measurements of blatant prejudice overstate the level of improvement that has been seen in recent years (Hicks & Lee, 2006). Prejudicial attitude expression is now expressed in more subtle, socially acceptable ways (Dovidio & Gartner, 2004). This argument has been supported in recent studies, as in an initial comparison of modern and traditional homonegative attitudes found 42% participants scored above the midpoint for modern homonegativity but only 20% scored above on the traditional attitudes towards lesbians scale (Morrison & Morrison 2002). Similar results were found in one small non-student sample, finding that negative attitudes were more prevalent in modern homonegativity scale over the traditional scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2011). Further supporting that prejudicial attitudes have begun to be expressed more commonly in subtle forms.

The Modern Homonegativity Scale has been used to represent western sexual prejudice attitudes, replicated in UK (Beuchel, & Hegarty, 2007), Irish (Morrison, Kenny & Harrington, 2005) and US samples (Morrison, Morrison & Franklin, 2009), as well as the initial Canadian results (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Levels of homonegativity were found moderately in all areas, with the US and UK reporting the highest levels (McDermott & Blair, 2012). Modern homonegativity is therefore apt in recording levels of prejudice within the UK and student samples. The research highlights how students do hold negative attitudes towards homosexuals, as they come to surface through modern justification rather than traditional homonegativity. Given the preceding evidence in chapter 1, it could be argued that observing masculine appearance and lesbian relationships would trigger sexual prejudice in

the form of modern homonegativity. However, it is not clear whether this will be driven either in combination or by one variable or the other. In addition to this, it is not clear what the relative size of these effects will be. Further clarification will identify the impact of gender presentation on modern homonegativity. Thus far, modern homonegative attitudes have not been considered to include gendered content, such as other homonegativity measures. As mentioned in chapter 1, homonegative attitudes have also been found to be based on perceived rejection of traditional gender roles. There are explicit measurements such as one measurement of gender conformity related homonegativity, which asks participants to rate their attitudes towards masculine appearing women and feminine appearing men (Doyle et al,, 2015). Scales such as this one do not include the justification specific to modern homonegativity, therefore this study aims to explicitly test modern homonegative attitudes towards gender presentation.

Social Distance

As previously mentioned, social distancing functions as an outcome in its own right, despite being studied primarily as a predictor. Social distancing behaviours include engaging in non-verbal behavioural such as not associating with a lesbian, or dissenting oneself through verbally expressing difference (Swim, Ferguson & Hyers, 1999; Jewel et al,, 2012). These behaviours are perceived as normative and often go unrecognised, making them unintentionally derogative (Jewel et al,, 2012). Moreover, studies on social distancing have shown that those with less prejudicial beliefs are not free from prejudicial behaviour, as they still tend to distance themselves from the group. For example, Morrison and Morrison (2002) proposed that social distancing is the outcome of modern homonegativity, reflective of the wish to covertly avoid and not support homosexual groups. This relates to the understanding

that social distancing is an act which is unfavourable and discriminatory, enabling the structures that keep sexual minority women disadvantaged, to continue (Swim et al,, 1999). This is an example of behavioural sexual prejudice which illustrates that social distancing is a refusal for intimacy of interaction (Williams, 1964). Subtle discrimination is enacted through behaviours that are harmful, but difficult to identify as being as a result of anti-gay bias, due to the level of ambiguity associated with the acts (Jewel et al,, 2012).

As a subtle behavioural prejudice, social distancing can also be understood as an outcome from intolerance to gender non-conformity. The behaviour of social distancing has been linked to the relationship between negative attitude towards women's non-conformity to feminine gender role, and negative attitude towards lesbians (Simon, 1995). This relationship was pronounced in respondents who had negative or a lack of interpersonal contact with lesbians. This stands as a potential expression of the presumed connectivity between gender non-conformity and sexuality.

However sexual and gender non-conformity prejudice and their relative effects on social distance needs to be further explored, as current experimental evidence largely only supports the linkage between social distancing and lesbians, without consideration of gender presentation. For example, one study showed that participants wished for preference for social distancing from those both known or presumed to be lesbian (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). In this study, participants physically distanced themselves from a presumed lesbian student. The researchers concluded that these were experimental examples of real behavioural covert avoidance of lesbians. The chosen measurement of social distancing will be a behaviour propensity scale based on the willingness to have a lesbian associated or close to the individual in relationship. Chosen because previous studies have criticised other social distancing measures, explaining that simply knowing someone does not replicate the relationships effective for changing sexual prejudice and discrimination (Worthen et al,,

2018; Loehr, Doan & Miller, 2015). The social distance measure (Link, Cullen, Frank & Wozniak, 1987) however, more accurately replicates the parameters of Allport's contact theory as discussed in the first chapter. This is because, rather than measuring frequency of contact, it measures openness towards association and closeness to lesbians. Contact theory stressed these qualities to be of importance in creating an environment that increases empathy, which supports the reduction of negative attitudes towards out-groups (Allport, 1954; Smith et al,, 2009).

Gender non-conforming appearance has successfully been evidenced previously as a factor effecting social distancing from gay men. One study found that acceptance of gender nonconformity explained the relationship between prejudice and contact with homosexual individuals (Collier et al,, 2012). However, this relationship was only present in male participants' responses' on gay men, with no differences being present in female participants' responses' about lesbians. Therefore the current research represents some of the first research, investigating this topic with measurements applicable to lesbians alone.

Prejudicial Behaviour

The BIAS map (Behaviours from Intergroup Affect and Stereotype) is a measure of prejudice, relating to social groups (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007). It measures three levels of manifestation of attitudinal prejudice; cognitive (i.e.: stereotypes), affective (i.e.: emotional prejudice) and behavioural intention (i.e.: discrimination). Of which, only the behavioural intention is applicable to the research themes this study. The behaviours of the BIAS map, are measurement of how individuals perceive society to treat individuals, stemming from judgements of the social groups they belong to. The ways society can treat social groups are categorised according to intensity (active or passive) and valence (facilitation or harm) of the

behaviour (Cuddy et al,, 2007). The domains of intensity (passive or active) have been related to that of overt and covert behaviour as they cover similar behavioural types (Ayduk, May, Downey & Higins, 2003). For example, explicit or active behaviour are harmful acts easily recognised for targeting negativity towards a group or individual. On the other hand, covert or passive negative behaviours are less explicitly harmful, that never the less contributes to discrimination (Cramwinckle et al,, 2018). Within these dimensions there are therefore four types of behaviour, only one of which is positive and that behaviour is active facilitation which is an explicit aim to benefit a group (i.e.: helping). The others are: passive facilitation, such as acting with a group due to obligatory association. This is negative as contact is simply tolerated, with facilitation as a by-product. Active harm, where behaviour towards the group is explicitly intended to cause harm and lastly passive harm, described as "acting without" through demeaning or neglecting behaviour. Passive behaviour is of particular interest because of its link with aspects of modern homonegativity, particularly as it regards characteristics of discrimination by those who do not wish to appear overtly discriminatory due to social repercussions (Cuddy et al,, 2007).

There is currently only one study that provides evidence of towards the expected behaviour towards lesbians, and results suggest that lesbians were viewed differently depending on perceptions of their levels of masculinity and femininity (Vaughn, Teeters, Sadler & Cronan, 2017). However, this study did not measure masculinity and femininity directly, but inferred it from the cognitive aspect of the BIAS map. For example, in previous literature, lesbians as a general group are viewed as highly competent but with low warmth, like men, who are viewed the same way. Notably, this is opposite to heterosexual women who are viewed as highly warm and low in competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). Therefore, when Vaugh et al,. (2017) found that those who perceived lesbians to have low warmth expected them to be treated with more active and passive harm behaviours, it could be concluded that

this may be due to an element of presumed masculinity. Furthermore, previous research has tested the cognitive element of the BIAS map within lesbian subtypes, providing evidence that femme (feminine presenting) lesbians are perceived as warm and competent, but for butch (masculine presenting) lesbians were perceived as more competent than warm (Brambilla, Carnaghi & Ravenna, 2011). Vaugh et al, found that lesbians perceived as high in competence and warmth, suggesting feminine presenting, were treated with active and passive facilitating behaviours (2017). Therefore previous research is promising, however, direct examination of the influence of gender presentation however has not been explored. Therefore to conclude that gender non-conformity is a causational factor in negative behaviours towards lesbians needs further research. Taking the findings of both Vaughn et al, and Brambilla et al, (2017; 2011), these two studies suggest that masculine presenting lesbians therefore elicit active and passive harm behaviours due to gender presentation and sexuality.

Aims and Hypotheses

This study aims to address the limitations within the current literature using an experimental design. Having previously been used to study gay men (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a), and been identified by Morrison and Morrison (2011) as an area for exploration, this study proposes to manipulate the sexuality and gender presentation of woman in a vignette, and assess the differences between perceptions of said women. Three main areas will be explored, homonegative attitudes, social distancing and active and passive behaviours.

Firstly, it is hypothesised that sexuality of the vignette will effect modern homonegativity scores, with the homosexual conditions being higher than heterosexual conditions, regardless of gender presentation. Secondly, an interaction between gender presentation and sexuality is

expected, due to previous research suggesting that masculine presenting lesbians receive highest homonegativity.

Secondly, it is proposed to find which groups of women participants distance themselves most from, due to sexuality and gender non-conformity. It is expected that vignettes describing both a sexual minority and gender non-conforming women will have the highest scores in preference for social distance. Following this; the homosexual vignettes regardless of gender identity, then masculine vignettes regardless of sexuality, will have descending scores.

Lastly, to consider the behavioural outcomes of gender presentation and sexuality, the main effects of the two concepts will be investigated. This will identify how gender non-conforming appearance and sexual prejudice result in active and passive behaviours. The effect of masculine and feminine presentation on heterosexual women will be explored also, to examine differences in behaviour towards gender non-conforming heterosexual women. It is expected that due to both gender appearance and sexuality, masculine presenting lesbians will elicit most active and passive harm behaviours.

Methodology

Participants

287 participants were recruited to the study, and data from 282 participants was used. Of those who gave their gender, 182 were female and 65 male. There was also 1 “androgynous” and 1 non-binary individual. The sample was gathered via volunteer sampling, through online advertisement and through distribution with undergraduate volunteers. Ages ranged from 18-68, (*M* = 23.89, *SD* = 7.95). Most of the sample were heterosexual (*n* = 184) and the most common responses for ethnicity fit into the categories of white (any nationality; *n* = 174), other non-white ethnicity (*n* = 39) and British (race not specified; *n* = 33).The majority of the sample were students studying a degree other than psychology (n = 124), followed by psychology students (*n* = 65), those working (*n* = 48) and those out of work (*n* = 45). Over half of the sample were “not at all religious” (*n* = 178) and most considered themselves central left wing (*n* = 79), unsure (*n* = 74) or left wing (*n* = 72) in their political views.

Design

The study was an online questionnaire using between subjects design that manipulated the sexual orientation and gender presentation of a story of a woman. Following reading a vignette about the woman, participants completed a series of questionnaire outcome measures. Evidence of all questionnaires can be found in Appendix A. In this 2*2 experimental design there were four conditions: masculine presenting heterosexual women, masculine presenting homosexual woman, feminine presenting heterosexual woman and feminine presenting homosexual woman.

Materials

Vignettes. Short descriptions of a woman were created for the purpose of the study. The vignettes were manipulated to contain neutral contextual information, as well as the sexuality and appearance of the woman. In this way four vignettes were made, homosexual feminine presenting, homosexual masculine presenting and corresponding heterosexual comparisons. The wording of these manipulations can be seen in Table 2.1 and the full vignettes can be seen in Appendix B. The manipulations were influenced by items from the Gender Role Violation Questionnaire (Doyle et al,, 2015), so as to be grounded in items shown to be violations of gender norms. Influence for the vignettes was drawn from the work of Lehavot and Lambert (2007) and the vignettes were piloted prior to use. Piloting showed that participants recognised the manipulated information as important but also took in other neutral contextual information (Appendix C). This reinforced that the manipulation choices were subtle. The four conditions were coded as maschom/femhom/femhet/maschet in SPSS, to allow for analysis of the conditions separately.

Table 2.1. *The content of the manipulated material in the vignettes*

Manipulation type	**Wording quote**
Masculine presenting gender identity	Short hair and a boyish style
Feminine presenting gender identity	Long brown hair and a girlish style
Heterosexuality	She is looking forward to meeting Harry there who she has been dating for a year.
Homosexuality	She is looking forward to meeting Mary there who she has been dating for a year.

Modern Homonegativity Scale – Lesbian Women (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). This questionnaire was the method for assessing non-pejorative based attitudes towards homosexual women. This measure was modified for the purpose of this research so that participants answered the questions in relation to a vignette. The scale was altered to be specific to an individual belonging to social groups, rather than social groups in general as it allowed for experimental control of intersectional identities (sexuality and gender presentation). Examples of this adjustment can be seen in Table 2.2. For each question, participants answered questions based on the vignettes sexual orientation and gender. This change to the MHS, originally created to study sexual orientation alone, allowed for detailed analysis of the manipulations made in the corresponding conditions. Alpha scores for the original and adjusted scale can be seen in Table 2.5. Answers ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), based on how much participants believed the vignette to engage with the beliefs expressed from the original measure. Summed scores for each condition were created to analyse answers based on sexuality and gender. No recoding was needed. Higher scores indicated more agreement with modern homonegativity attitudes when applied to sexual orientation or gender. One item "*Lesbian women who are 'out of the closet' should be admired for their courage*" was removed as did not convert to the study design, leaving 11 questions overall.

Table 2.2. *Examples of changes made to the modern homonegativity scale*

Original item (Morrison & Morrison, 2002)	**Change**
The notion of universities providing degrees in gay and lesbian studies is ridiculous.	Rachel is ridiculous for asking universities to provide degrees based on gender/sexual orientation
Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.	Rachel is ridiculous for taking pride in her gender/sexual orientation

Lesbian women should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.	Rachel tends to shove her lifestyle down other people's throats in regards to her gender/sexual orientation

Social distance measure (Link et al,, 1987). This questionnaire consisted of seven statements of varying degrees of preference for social distance (covert avoidance). Participants answered on a 4 point scale how willing they would be to hold that relationship of closeness to the corresponding vignette in their condition. Examples can be seen in Table 2.3. The scale ranged from 0 (*definitely willing*) to 3 (*definitely unwilling*) and had 7 questions. Sum scores of each participant's answers to the 7 questions were calculated and analysis was completed on their overall composite social distance measure scores. Higher scores indicated preference for greater social distance from the person described in the vignette.

Table 2.3. *Items from the social distance measure*

	Example
Social distance measure (Link et al,, 1987)	How would you feel having someone like Rachel as a neighbour? How about as a worker on the same job as someone like Rachel?

Behaviours from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS map) – Behaviour Scale (Cuddy et al,, 2007). Eight questions regarding types of discriminatory behaviour were answered by participants. Participants answered on a 5 point Likert scale 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). The 8 behaviours represented four groups of behaviour: active facilitation, active harm, passive facilitation and passive harm. Therefore, for each of these groups, the mean of 2 questions created the group score. See Table 2.4 for examples. Higher scores indicated

higher belief that people in the UK perform discriminatory behaviour resulting in representation for the way society treats that group. As with all other scales on stereotype content, a total score for each participants answer to each behaviour group was calculated.

Table 2.4. *Behavioural groups and one of their associated questions.*

Behaviour group/subscale	**Question example**
Active harm	In general, do people in the UK tend to fight people like Rachel?
Active facilitation	In general, do people in the UK tend to protect people like Rachel?
Passive harm	In general, do people in the UK tend to exclude people like Rachel?
Passive facilitation	In general, do people in the UK tend to cooperate with people like Rachel?

Alpha scores

Table 2.5. *Alpha scores for all measures used.*

Questionnaire	**Subscale**	**Alpha score**
Modern Homonegativity Scale	Sexuality	.79
	Gender Presentation	.80
Social Distance		.72
BIAS map: behaviour	Active Harm	.71
	Passive Harm	.73
	Active Facilitation	.70
	Passive Facilitation	.81

Procedure

The study was advertised to the public via social media. Participants were invited to share their attitudes about women, but not told until the debrief that the study was on homosexuality. It was also posted on a student specific website (SONA) and distributed by undergraduate volunteers to their peers. Of the four conditions, participants were randomly assigned to one. The study took approximately 10 minutes to complete. Firstly they read a

vignette describing the condition, and answered the original and adapted version of the Modern Homonegativity Scale that was created for this research. After that participants answered the social distance scale and the behaviour subscale of the Behaviour from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) map. All questions were presented randomly within subscales to prevent order effects. The social distance scale however will not, as the wording for this specific measure worked best in a standardised order. Repetitions of the vignette were included to ensure that participants could familiarise themselves with the person they were answering questions about. Demographic information was answered last. Age, sexuality, ethnicity, gender, religious affiliation, occupation and political affiliation were collected. Date of birth was also collected to prevent using data of an individual doing the study more than once, but was not retained after analysis. A debrief explaining the details of this study was provided (Appendix I), as well as a link for participants to enter themselves into a prize draw as thanks for their participation. This final step was voluntary, data was held separately to data from the survey and the winner was announced shortly after data collection finished.

Ethics

Online posts were made with standardised instructions which briefly introduced the research (appendix D). Participants read an introduction which briefed them on the nature and length of the research, as well as their rights as a participants (appendix E). All information was in accordance with BPS guidelines and was approved by the University of Lincoln School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (SOPREC; appendix G). Before the study, consent forms were signed by each participant (appendix F). Participants also created a unique number for anonymity and so that they could withdraw their data if needed. There were no perceived risk to participants however information for LBGT+ charities and places to discuss the nature of the research was given. Data was stored in compliance with GDPR guidelines.

Results

Descriptive Statistics.

Table 2.6. *Means and Standard Deviations of measures and their subscales, across all four vignette conditions.*

		Modern Homonegativity Scale		Social Distance	Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes			
		Sexuality	Gender		Active Harm	Active Facilitation	Passive Harm	Passive Facilitation
Feminine Homosexual	*M*	22.88	23.58	2.21	5.68	6.15	6.06	7.11
	SD	*6.98*	*7.29*	*3.42*	*1.93*	*1.70*	*1.88*	*1.61*
Masculine Homosexual	*M*	24.20	24.09	2.83	6.14	5.91	6.30	6.50
	SD	*8.95*	*8.87*	*4.86*	*2.12*	*2.21*	*2.19*	*2.02*
Feminine Heterosexual	*M*	28.15	26.49	0.68	4.69	7.11	4.61	7.61
	SD	*7.03*	*6.94*	*1.54*	*2.09*	*1.84*	*2.05*	*1.81*
Masculine Heterosexual	*M*	25	24.53	3.57	5.63	6.51	5.59	7.08
	SD	*7.57*	*7.91*	*3.88*	*2.22*	*1.92*	*2.23*	*1.74*
Overall	*M*	25.06	24.68	2.28	5.52	6.43	5.62	7.09
	SD	*7.85*	*7.80*	*3.72*	*2.14*	*1.96*	*2.18*	*1.83*

Note: Higher scores on all measures equal higher levels of the construct.

ANOVA analysis

Modern Homonegativity Scale - original scale, based on sexuality of the vignette

Analysis showed that the sexuality of the vignette condition had a significant effect on Modern Homonegativity Scale, $F(1,274) = 10.99$, $p = .001$ $\eta^2p = .04$. Here showing that heterosexual conditions were allocated more homonegativity ($M = 26.58$, $SD = 0.65$) than homosexual conditions ($M = 23.54$, $SD = 0.65$). No significant main effect of gender was found, $F(1,274) = 1$, $p = .318$, $\eta^2p = .004$. A significant interaction effect between gender and sexuality was also found $F(1,274) = 5.96$, $p = .015$, $\eta^2p = .02$. Figure 2.1 illustrates that the feminine-heterosexual condition was associated most with the Modern Homonegativity Scale beliefs, ($M = 28.16$, $SD = 0.91$), followed by the masculine-heterosexual ($M = 25$, $SD = 0.93$), masculine-homosexual condition ($M = 24.20$, $SD = 0.94$) and then feminine homosexual ($M = 22.88$, $SD = 0.90$) on the basis of their sexuality and gender presentation. Post-hoc *t*-test analysis showed that the mean differences between the feminine and masculine heterosexual conditions were significant $t(137) = 2.55$, $p = .012$, as were the differences between the homosexual and heterosexual feminine conditions $t(142) = 4.52$, $p = .001$. No significant differences were found between the feminine and masculine homosexual conditions $t(137) = -.98$, $p = .331$ and the homosexual and heterosexual masculine conditions $t(132) = -.56$, $p = .575$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. Illustration of the interaction effect between vignette conditions of sexuality and gender presentation. Mean values of answers to the Modern Homonegativity Scale given.

Modern Homonegativity Scale – gender presentation version of the original sexuality scale

No significant main effect of sexuality ($F(1,274)= 3.25$, $p =.0.73$, $\eta^2p = .01$), gender ($F(1,274) = .61$, $p = .438$, $\eta^2p = .002$) nor a significant interaction effect ($F(1,274) = 1.80$, $p = .184$, $\eta^2p = .01$) on this version of the scale was found.

Behaviours from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes

Active harm

The level of expected active harm that would be performed onto people like the woman in the vignette, was significantly affected by the sexuality of the vignette condition, $F(3,267) = 8.62$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2p = .03$. Homosexual conditions were allocated more active harm ($M = 5.91$, $SD = 0.18$) than heterosexual conditions ($M = 5.17$, $SD = 0.18$). There was also a significant

main effect of gender on active harm $F(3,267) = 7.60$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2p = .03$. Here showing that the masculine conditions were allocated more active harm ($M = 5.90$, $SD = 0.19$) than the feminine conditions ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 0.17$). No significant interaction effect between sexuality and gender was found, $F(1,267) = .89$, $p = .345$, $\eta^2p = .003$.

Active facilitation

The level of expected active facilitation that would be performed onto people like the woman in the vignette, was significantly affected by the sexuality of the vignette condition, $F(3,267)$, $= 11.17$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2p = .04$. Here showing that heterosexual conditions were allocated more active facilitation ($M = 6.81$, $SD = 0.17$) than homosexual conditions ($M = 6.03$, $SD = 0.17$). No significant main effect of gender ($F(1,267) = 3.31$, $p = .070$, $\eta^2p = .01$), nor a significant interaction effect was found ($F(1,267) = .58$, $p = .446$, $\eta^2p = .002$).

Passive harm

The level of expected passive harm that would be performed onto people like the woman in the vignette, was significantly affected by the gender presentation of the vignette condition, $F(3,267) = 5.74$, $p = .017$, $\eta^2p = .02$. Masculine presenting women were associated with more passive harm behaviours (M = 5.94, SD = 0.19) than feminine presenting women (M = 5.33, SD = 0.17). There was also a main effect of the sexuality of the vignette condition $F(3,267) = 17.96$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2p = .06$ on passive harm. Homosexual women were associated with more passive harm behaviours from others ($M = 6.18$, $SD = 0.18$) than heterosexual conditions ($M = 5.10$, $SD = 0.18$). No significant interaction effect between sexuality and gender was found, $F(1,267) = 2.09$, $p = .149$, $\eta^2p = .008$.

Passive facilitation

The level of expected passive facilitation that would be performed onto people like the woman in the vignette was significantly affected by the gender presentation of the vignette condition, $F(3,274) = 6.85$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2p = .03$. Feminine presenting women were associated with more passive facilitation behaviours (M = 7.36, SD = 0.15) than masculine presenting women (M = 6.79, SD = 0.16). There was also a main effect of the sexuality of the vignette condition $F(3,267) = 6.11$, $p = .014$, $\eta^2p = .02$ on passive facilitation. Heterosexual women were associated with more passive facilitation behaviours from others ($M = 7.35$, $SD = 0.16$) than the homosexual conditions ($M = 6.81$, $SD = 0.15$). No significant interaction effect between sexuality and gender was found, $F(1,267) = .03$, $p = .856$, $\eta^2p = .001$.

Social distance

The level of preferred social distance from the people like the woman in the vignette, was significantly affected by the gender presentation of the vignette condition, $F(3,275) = .16.64$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2p = .06$. Participants had greater social distance preference scores for masculine presenting vignettes ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.31$) than feminine presenting vignettes ($M = 1.45$, $SD = 0.30$). No significant main effect of sexuality was found, $F(1,275) = .84$, $p = .361$, $\eta^2p = .003$. However, a significant interaction effect between gender and sexuality was found $F(3,275) = 6.86$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2p = .02$. Figure 2.2 illustrates that the feminine heterosexual condition was the condition participants wanted the least distance from ($M = .69$, $SD = 0.42$), followed by the feminine homosexual ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 0.42$), masculine homosexual condition ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.44$) and then the masculine heterosexual condition ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 0.44$). Post-hoc *t*-test analysis showed that the mean difference between the social distance preference scores in the feminine heterosexual condition, and the masculine heterosexual

condition were significant $t(138) = -5.86$, $p = .001$. Differences were also significant between the feminine heterosexual condition, and the feminine homosexual condition were significant $t(144) = -3.46$, $p = .001$. No significant differences were found between the feminine and masculine homosexual conditions $t(137) = -.89$, $p = .376$ and the homosexual and heterosexual masculine conditions $t(131) = -.96$, $p = .337$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2. Illustration of the interaction effect between vignette conditions of sexuality and gender presentation. Mean values of answers to the Preferred Social Distance.

Discussion

Modern Homonegativity Attitudes

Modern homonegative attitudes reject activism for homosexual equality based in the justification that; no further change is needed, homosexuals hold their sexual identity of too high importance and lastly that institutions afford them privileges therefore discrimination is no longer a relevant issue (Morrison & Morrison, 2011). The experimental manipulation investigated if these attitudes would be increased by homosexuality or gender non-conforming presentation. This was in order to see if this type of prejudicial justification could be related to gender non-conformity prejudice. Differences were anticipated to show participants attributing more modern homonegative attitudes towards homosexual masculine presenting women. This was due to the history of non-acceptance of homosexual women, related to their gender non-conforming presentation (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Lick & Johnson, 2014). However a reverse effect was found. Firstly, despite gender presentation, the sexuality of the condition did affect modern prejudice attitudes. Participants seeing the heterosexual versions of the vignette gave more negative ratings to the woman portrayed. At first this seems confusing, however the attitudes reflected in this scale are in some ways applicable outside of the original use of the scale. In this manipulation, the items were not worded to include "lesbian", but rather referred to the name of the woman in the vignette "Rachel" (see Table 2.1). This allowed participants to allocate their attitude towards the measure without knowledge that they were driven from negative attitudes towards homosexuals. Therefore in the heterosexual condition, showing higher agreement with examples such as "Rachel no longer needs to protest for equal rights in terms of her sexuality" actually theoretically shows lower levels of modern homonegativity. This is because participants are indicating less favour towards protests for straight rights. Therefore

the answers using the modern homonegativity scale in the heterosexual conditions, may be showing awareness from the participants of how heterosexual women are treat better than lesbians in heteronormative society. This is is as results showed that participants indicated that heterosexual women are treated better because of their sexuality and therefore need less activism for it. If these results are replicated within a repeated measures design to show that the same effect is found when directly in comparison with lesbian women, this result may indicate awareness of heterosexual privilege. A potential heterosexual privilege effect was reinforced by the interaction found. This is because it showed that the femininity drove the interaction effect, as the largest differences were between heterosexual and homosexual feminine presenting conditions. Aside from the heterosexual feminine presenting woman, all other conditions were responded too with similar levels of modern homonegativity. This perhaps illustrates the heteronormative belief that feminine heterosexuality is the norm and therefore that "other" are treated negatively (Yep, 2003).

Disagreement with the Modern Homonegativity Scale in the homosexual conditions further support this, as it would indicate that participants understood the need for sexual equality for lesbians. This could be argued, as the mean scores for both the feminine and masculine homosexual conditions fell below the midpoint of this scale (22.88 and 23.20 respectively, with a midpoint of 27.5). Scores below the midpoint of the Modern Homonegativity Scale indicate negative attitude, therefore, this suggests that overall participants had a more positive modern homonegative attitudes than in previous studies (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Therefore these results indicate that relationships relevant to gender presentation were found within a sample including individuals with accepting attitudes towards lesbians and who were potentially awareness of heteronormative society. Further research is needed to investigate if these results do in fact reflect sexual prejudice awareness, but if it does this is a positive finding as it shows that participants understand the political landscape for heterosexual

women. In that they agreed that heterosexuality doesn't need a supporting hand in being upheld. Further studies could further investigate response to subtle prejudice items on heterosexual conditions, to identify to groups the social climate afforded to heterosexuals. This could be used as a method of educational awareness, leading to empathy taking, a key factor in reducing prejudice (Felten, Emmen & Keuzenkamp, 2015 as cited in Cramwinkle et al,, 2018).

Interestingly, in contrast to the sexuality subscale, the Modern Homonegativity Scale (gender version) was not successful in finding differences between the conditions, when answered regarding the vignette's gender. It is important to note that all conditions were scored similar levels of this scale, with similar distributions (see Table 2.6). Here evidencing that the modern justifications of negativity towards lesbians, may not be a transferable justification for attitudes towards gender presentation. The three assumptions of modern homonegativity are that; A) call for change as an unnecessary demand, B) over identification with being marginalised and different and finally C) that discrimination is a thing of the past (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Participants did not attribute the three assumptions in relation to gender, differently according to gender presentation or sexuality. Presuming good psychometric value and no floor effects within this adjustment of the measure, a lack of difference could represent that the sexuality and gender presentation do not cause subtle prejudice concerned with gender politics. This putative conclusion is tentative as further research is needed to identify why this form of justification for negative attitude was not higher for the lesbian conditions, as previous research shows they are often judged based on their appearance (Lick & Johnson, 2014). Indeed, one limitation of this research would be the wording of the questions which used "gender" rather than "gender presentation". The former, which could have been confused with gender politics such as sexism, and the latter of which would have encouraged participants to think more about the image the woman in the vignette. From this,

clearer conclusions could have been made. Furthermore, this study used an altered version of the Modern Homonegativity Scale in an experiment which tested the perceptions of an individual in a vignette, rather than attitudes towards social groups. This was to allow for experimental manipulation of intersectional identities, however has implications for the use of the results. In this study, each condition presented intersectional identities ranging from entirely conforming (straight, and feminine) to entirely non-conforming (homosexual, and masculine). However, as attitudes towards these groups were derived from perceptions of an individual, the results are not as generalizable to the wider social groups.

Social Distancing as Covert Avoidance

One of the largest effect sizes in this experiment was the effect of gender presentation on social distancing. Participants showed preferences for further distance from the masculine presenting vignettes, which can be interpreted as displaying a subtle form of prejudice against them (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). As mentioned in chapter 1, desire for non-association with individuals who are gender non-conforming, has previously been shown to be indicative of sexual prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). The results from this study however, highlight social distancing potentially as a result of gender non-conformity prejudice.

In this study, the gender main effect shows that masculine appearance, regardless of sexuality, is a factor which increases discrimination against women through non-association. Social distancing from lesbians had previously not been investigated with a gender lens, however previous research had argued that gender identity was of particular importance within perceptions of homosexuals, with gender non-conforming lesbians being discriminated against both because of their appearance and sexuality (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Emphasising a “double effect” and connection between gender presentation and homosexuality. Due to this research, it was anticipated that the masculine homosexual

condition would be associated with the highest levels of social distancing. However post hoc testing evidences that in comparison with other conditions, scores in the masculine homosexual condition were not higher than feminine presenting lesbian women or less so than masculine presenting heterosexual women. This research therefore shows that the "double effect" evidenced by Lehavot & Lambert (2007), did not result in participants wishing to have greater social distancing from the homosexual gender-non-conforming condition. Arguing that the proposed connectivity between homosexuality and gender non-conformity (Greene, 2007) did not occur to drive the effects of this behavioural outcome. Instead, this evidence shows that gender presentation is a key factor within social distancing.

It was found that the masculine presenting heterosexual condition was that which participants wanted the most distance from. It can be concluded therefore that the effect of gender presentation on social distancing was more pronounced in the heterosexual masculine presenting vignette condition. This shows that overall, masculine presenting women are met with a more negative response in terms of behavioural non-association. This opens up the conversation regarding gender non-conformity prejudice and homosexuality intolerance. Showing instead that gender presentation was an integral component when considering behavioural outcome, regardless of sexuality. Furthermore, post hoc testing showed that masculine presenting women were treat similarly in terms of social distancing. Evidencing that masculine presenting women overall were the group most avoided. It is proposed that the effects found within social distancing scores therefore represent gender non-conformity prejudice, as social distancing can be a form of covert avoidance and negative behavioural outcome (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Therefore displaying differential treatment occurring towards women who were gender non-conformity, as found by previous research in this area (Gordon & Meyer, 2007). Therefore, research into gender non-conformity prejudice should consider social distancing as an influential factor effecting prejudicial behaviour. Social

distancing has shown to be key in reducing prejudice (Smith et al,, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006), therefore research aiming to improve gender non-conformity prejudice should consider social distancing as an independent outcome.

Homonegative prejudicial behaviour In the current research, more active and passive harm were indicated in the homosexual conditions, regardless of gender presentation. As compared to heterosexual vignettes, participants identified that the UK treats lesbians with more negative behaviour. Identifying both intentionally harmful and neglectful behaviour to be a product of sexual prejudice. This finding is consistent with past research which had found that both passive and active harmful behaviours were associated with lesbians (Vaughn et al,, 2017). This result is as expected, with evidence consistently supporting that lesbians experience discriminatory behaviour, including violent behaviour **(**Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012). Although this measurement was not concerned with personal behavioural intention of the participant, it provides as a summary of societal intention through the perception of each participant. Therefore these findings show that regardless of personal opinion, participants agreed society acted negatively towards lesbians. Further supporting investigation of sexuality and gender identity prejudice as a result of societally enforced beliefs (Kitzinger, 2005; Nielsen et al,, 2000).

Additionally, participants also indicated more societal active and passive harm behaviour in response to the masculine vignettes, regardless of sexuality. Meaning that harassing behaviours from others was instigated by gender non-conforming presentation and this result was not effected by sexuality. Previous research has shown intolerance to gender non-conformity. For example, one study showed that gender non-conforming faces were

evaluated negatively and presumed lesbian (Freeman et al,, 2010). This research furthers this, to show that not only does society enact harmful behaviour due to presumed connectivity between homosexuality and gender non-conforming appearance, but also gender non-conformity alone. In relation to previous research finding that adherence to gender roles is on the decline (Swim et al,, 2005), this result is evidence that participants believe that the UK will react negatively to gender non-conforming appearance. As gender presentation non-conformity increases therefore, it can be expected to see more harmful behaviour towards those individuals, irrespective of sexuality. As the result found was not affected by sexuality, it is applicable to both heterosexual and homosexual women. Therefore contributing to the expansion of research which had previously focused on how negativity towards gender non-conforming appearance affects lesbians (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Lick & Johnson, 2013). This result therefore identifies negative behaviour towards gender non-conforming women as an issue outside of sexuality. Making it relevant to issues of gender freedom and gender identity, a subsection within Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Prejudice, but never the less a concept of its own prejudice, relating to the rejection of gender diversity (Cramwinkle et al,, 2018).

It was hypothesised that an interaction between non-conforming gender presentation and homosexuality in women would result in result in masculine presenting lesbians receiving the highest level of harmful behaviours as compared to the other conditions. Because the history of investigation towards gender presentation within lesbians has identified a combined effect of homosexuality and gender-nonconformity (Swim et al,, 2005). A double violator effect from both gender presentation non-conformity and homosexuality (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007) was predicted. Furthermore, research has found negative evaluation of gender non-conformity to be a key aspect that increases sexual prejudice (Lick & Johnson, 2013; 2014). However, both negative behaviour types were as a result of sexuality and gender presentation

independently. The main effects of sexuality and gender presentation effecting behavioural outcomes similarly, but not in combination, supports arguments that the two act more independently than previously suggested (Blashill & Powlishta 2009b). The impact of which brings clarification to how prejudice towards masculine presenting lesbians is formulated. As it highlights that rejection of gender non-conforming presentation has an impact on negative behaviour, with or without the effect of sexual prejudice. The duality of effect on negative behaviour by both non-conforming sexuality and gender presentation is reflective of the theory of heteronormativity. Previous research from this perspective has evidenced that heterosexuality and social pressure towards gender binary are enforced (Kitzinger, 2005), by behaving negatively towards non-conformists (Habarth 2015; Massey, 2009; Yep, 2003). Results from this study mirror this perspective as both masculine appearance and homosexuality were reason behind harmful behaviour towards women. Therefore, when identifying ways to reduce societally acceptable negative behaviour towards these factors, future research should consider the theory of heteronormativity.

Furthermore showed that facilitation was effected by sexuality. Finding that compared to their homosexual counterparts, participants expected society to react to heterosexual women with more active and passive facilitation behaviours. Active facilitation behaviours act with the explicit aim to support a group, whereas passive behaviour of this kind are less explicitly positive, involving association and non-rejection of a social group (Cuddy et al,, 2007). The current results provide evidence of the belief that society overtly (active) and covertly (passive) behaves in ways to benefit heterosexual women, compared to homosexual women. Previous research from the heteronormative theory perspective has evidenced that heterosexuality and social pressure towards gender binary are enforced (Kitzinger, 2005) and this defines the boundaries of socially acceptable relationships and identities (Habarth, 2015). Within this understanding, these findings support this theory of heteronormativity as they

experimentally replicate previous research showing that society uphold those who fit the heteronormative "standard", rewarding socially acceptable gender and/or sexuality groups (Brickell, 2001). Further evidence towards the theory of heteronormativity was found in relation to bigenderism, as participants reported that society gives more beneficial treatment to heterosexual feminine women in comparison to masculine presenting heterosexual, or homosexual women. Experimentally evidencing the assumption from heteronormative theory that those who conform to gender binary expectations are afforded privileged status (Brickell, 2001). Results of the harm behaviours in conjunction with the results of facilitation behaviours, overall support heteronormative theory, supporting previous literature which identified that feminine heterosexuality is the prescribed norm and that non-conformists outside of this identity are treated negatively (Yep, 2003).

Conclusions

The evidence of this paper is a snapshot of modern attitude and behaviour towards women, to evaluate the impact of gender presentation on lesbians and heterosexual women. Whilst comparing the results, it is important to note that considering how subtle the manipulations were in this study, it is interesting to find any differences within the sample. The results are based on acceptance or rejection of hair and style and subtle sexuality cues. From these small differences in the information given to them, participants made judgements of personal and societal attitudes. The impact caused by such subtle cues, highlight how sensitive sexuality and gender presentation prejudice are and how easily triggered they can be. As well as this, the vignettes were created to emulate instances in life where judgements are made of a person based on subtle ques (Lick & Johnson, 2014) As such, these results stand as clear evidence of subtle and covert homonegative attitudes and behaviours. This body of work analysed the

effect of sexuality and gender identity on modern prejudice, social distancing and four types of behaviour. Largely, the work supports that sexuality and gender identity act independently in their effects on the reported prejudicial outcomes. Going forward, the lack of interactions between sexuality and within this research highlights the individual power of rejection of homosexuality and gender non-conforming prejudice. It is concluded therefore that both concepts have impact, and that the relationships are more complex than first thought. Furthermore, this work agrees with other researchers that the challenge of modern sexual prejudice research is to capture the passive and covert manifestations of prejudice, which uphold societal LGBT discrimination.

3

The Role of Gender in Reducing Positive and Increasing Negative Behaviour towards Lesbians

Introduction

As previously mentioned, negative behaviour towards lesbians persists despite change in attitude formation (Morrison & Morrison, 2011), and reports of reduced negative attitudes **(**Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014**).** According to recent research, 40% of lesbians report having been having harassed in public due to their sexual orientation (n= 145; Bostwick et al,, 2014). Arguably, behavioural output is perhaps the ultimate measure of prejudicial outcome (Cramwinckel et al,, 2018), as victimising behaviour has detrimental effect on minorities, resulting in poor physical and mental health (Dworkin et al,, 2018; Frost, Lehavot & Meyer, 2015). However, to address the discrepancies between studies finding lower levels of negative attitudes (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014), and persistent reports of negative behaviour (Bostwick et al,, 2014; see chapter 1 for an overview), research is therefore needed to identify factors that increase negative behaviour towards homosexual individuals, to work towards creating equal and protective environments within society for sexual minorities. This study proposes therefore to continue to identify the impact of gender attitudes on lesbians by investigating interrelations between attitudes towards homosexuality, gender roles and behavioural outcome.

Heteronormativity and Gender Roles

As previously discussed, arguments have been made defending that the theory of heteronormativity conceptualises the background assumptions behind sexual minority orientation and gender identities (Ward & Schneider, 2009). This is because of the prescriptive ability of "majority vs minority" gender and sexuality binary. These beliefs enforce being cisgender and heterosexual as the socially accepted norm and categorises anything else as "other" and therefore unacceptable (Yep, 2003). Previous research has

evidenced perceived violations of heterosexual sex binary and gender role binary as a predictor for negative attitudes and behaviour towards homosexuals (Lick & Johnson 2014; Massey, 2009; Yep, 2003). However, empirical measurement of heteronormative beliefs and their effect on behaviour towards lesbians groups has not yet been conducted. Heteronormative beliefs have mostly been studied from a theoretical perspective, or using qualitative methods. Qualitative analysis has shown that heteronormative attitudes have been identified as having prominent culture within schools, which needs addressing in order to provide safer environments for homosexual individuals (Steck & Perry, 2018). Furthermore qualitative analysis has linked heteronormative attitude to discriminatory behaviour (Kitzinger 2005; Nixon 2010). Empirical exploration is therefore needed to provide support for these findings.

Meta-analysis has shown that compared to heterosexuals, homosexual women experience a wide range of negative victimising behaviour due to societal devaluation of homosexuality (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012). Katz-Wise & Hyde discussed these findings in relation to heteronormative society, drawing conclusions that support the theory of heteronormativity. Supporting that the theoretical assumptions of compulsory gender binary and heterosexuality within heteronormative society are tied to discriminatory behaviour towards homosexuals. Measurement of effect or exploration of the relationships that heteronormative beliefs have on other attitudes in relation to behaviour could not be made however, as at the time of writing an empirical measurement for heteronormative beliefs was not used. The current work therefore aims to take this previous research and investigate the role of heteronormativity using direct measurement of heteronormative attitude. The Heteronormative scale provides measurement of heteronormative attitude, regarding beliefs deriving from bigenderism and the normative gender roles that they prescribe. Results show that the scale correlates positively with both subtle and blatant prejudicial attitudes towards

sexual minorities (Habarth, 2015; Habarth, Makhoulian, Nelson, Cassidy & Trafalis, 2019). However despite the research being driven by gender beliefs, and other research which has identified attitudes regarding gender non-conformity as an impacting factor on prejudice towards homosexuals (Lick & Johnson, 2014), the heteronormativity scale has not been tested as a predictor of further gendered beliefs. Previous research has tackled this research question theoretically, identifying that society held negativity towards homosexual relationships and gender presentation non-conformity as they violated gender roles. As mentioned in chapter 1, traditional gender roles beliefs quantify the appropriate attributes of men and women, (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Research has found that, as perceived by "society", both homosexuality and gender non-conforming presentation to violate these prescribed roles. (Doyle et al,, 2015). Individuals also answered questions in regards to their own perceptions, but significance was found for societal expectations of gender roles and that which violates them. This indirectly supports heteronormative attitudes as these results identify the culture that the theory of heteronormativity describes. Drawing comparative conclusions to theory, indirectly providing supportive evidence. In summary, the current research on heteronormativity lacks empirical support and this study aims to clarify the role of heteronormativity within prejudice against lesbians through measuring heteronormative attitudes. Providing quantitative evidence for relationships that have been defended theoretically or found using qualitative methods.

Furthermore, the effect of heteronormative attitudes on behaviour is not known. Manipulation of social norms has shown to be effective in reducing both antigay behaviour both observed and intentional, in meta-analytic review (Bartos et al,, 2014). Therefore providing indication that societal underpinning of attitudes, not unlike the theory of heteronormativity, does result in behavioural action. Within the meta-analysis, very few studies were on lesbians specifically (1%) therefore this warrants replication and further investigation. Moreover, only

16% of the studies used behavioural measurement, therefore expressing a gap here. This study brings together these gaps in research to address if heteronormative attitudes result in behaviour, and how this relationship is affected by heteronormativity's' effect on other attitudes.

Gender, Homonegativity and Discriminatory Behaviour

Previous research has highlighted the important role of traditional gender role beliefs in anti-gay prejudice, suggesting that anti-gay prejudice is more prominent in those who have traditional gender role beliefs (Hirai, Dolma, Popan & Winkle, 2014). This study aims to extend previous research through testing this relationship's impact on behaviour towards lesbians. The need for greater understanding of anti-homosexual behaviour has been highlighted in the past (Whitely, 2001; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Herek, 2000a). This still stands true with fewer papers investigating anti-gay behaviour than attitudes **(**Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Herek, 2000a). Of those that have, 'hyper-gender-role orientation' was found to be a significant predictor for anti-gay behaviour (Whitley, 2001). Recent analysis in the Netherlands, a relatively tolerant country, found qualitative evidence to support that gender non-conformity was a variable that impacted participants' behaviour towards gay men. In interviews with participants who expressed intolerant attitudes towards gay men, gender non-conformity was a common theme that resulted in anger and violence (Buijs, Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011). These participants justified the violent behaviour with the proclamations that rejected gender non-conformity but supported homosexuality. For example that they were "fine with homosexuals, as long as they act 'normal'." (Buijs et al,, 2011, p.637). Considering this research therefore, the impact of gender role beliefs could also explain negative behaviour towards lesbians. One potential way gender role beliefs may affect

behaviour, is through their influence on traditional negative attitudes. As mentioned in chapter 1, traditional homonegative attitudes are prejudice against homosexuality, based in moral or religious justification (Herek, 1988). Previous research has used mediation analysis to show that four out of five common demographic variables to increase traditional homonegative attitudes, had this effect mediated through gender beliefs attitudes (Brown & Henriquez, 2008). Not only does this add a different perspective to those variables previously thought to have a direct relationship with homonegativity, but homonegative attitudes have been shown to increase negative behaviour towards lesbians (Morrison & Morrison, 2011). Taking these two findings into account the question is raised if gender role beliefs can impact behaviour, due to their effect on attitudes. One study has observed this, finding that traditional gender role beliefs increased rejection behaviour towards homosexuals, mediated through traditional homonegative attitudes (Goodman & Mooradi, 2008).

However, the context of the current climate of homonegative attitudes may mean that effects such as above have changed over the last 10 years. For example, research has found a reduction in traditional homonegative attitudes (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014), and as the previous results were measured using traditional homonegativity the relationship that gender role beliefs have with behaviour may manifest differently. Therefore this study proposes to investigate if gender role beliefs mediating negative attitudes and behaviours is still defended. Furthermore, it may be the case that gender role beliefs regarding sexuality and gender presentation are relevant to modern homonegative attitudes, resulting in negative behaviour (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). This has yet to be studied, therefore may be a potential predictor of negative behaviour in conjunction with gender role beliefs. The research is directed towards discriminatory behavioural intention (Huic, Jelic & Kamenov, 2016), as behavioural intention measures have shown to lead to behaviour, as concluded within a meta-

analysis (Webb & Sheeran, 2006). Therefore, the relationships evidenced in this study signify genuine potential explanations behind how factors as a combination, result in behaviour.

Modern and Traditional Attitudes

Additionally, this thesis aims to investigate behavioural intention as effected by both blatant and subtle prejudice. As mentioned in chapter 1, blatant sexual prejudice manifest as traditional homonegative attitudes, rooted in moral or religious rejection (Hereck & McLemore, 2013), whereas subtle prejudicial attitude concern the belief that homosexuals are treated equally (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). The outcomes of subtle prejudice mirror some of the outcomes of blatant prejudice (Barreto & Ellmers, 2015). For example, both subtle and blatant homonegative comments have shown to be associated with negative mental health (anxiety, depression) and academic (school avoidance, social acceptance) outcomes for homosexual individuals (Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik & Magley, 2008). Meaning that although the terminology "subtle" suggests a less harmful prejudice, the outcomes of subtle prejudice are comparable to blatant prejudice. However, the predictive ability of the two forms of prejudice have yet to be compared in behavioural outcome, such as discriminatory behaviour. Therefore, critical comparison of the effect of modern and traditional homonegative attitudes on behaviour will be considered in this research. At the time of writing, two studies have explicitly linked MHS and behaviour towards homosexuals. One evidenced interpersonal discrimination through social distancing (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Another study found that heterosexual identifying participants who held more homonegativity attitudes also had less favourable behavioural intentions towards a gay political candidate. No such correlation was found for the straight political candidate. However this study was conducted only using the gay men version of the MHS, and specific

behaviour relating to political engagement with the candidate (Morrison & Morrison, 2011). This study therefore aims to investigate further modern homonegativity's association with behavioural intention. There is less work to show that modern homonegativity predicts negative behaviour, however modern homonegativity and traditional homonegativity have previously been shown to correlate, demonstrating convergent validity (Rye & Meaney, 2010). Predictions could be that the two manifestations of homonegativity may work in similar ways. However, other studies have shown that these two indices are better fit by a two-factor model, over a single-factor model. Showing that the two concepts are distinct from each other (Morrison, Morrison & Franklin, 2009; Romero, Morera & Wiebe 2015). Therefore, based on these findings, alternative predictions may be that they may predict negative behaviour differently.

Gender, Mediation and Social Distancing.

Qualitative analysis has identified that acceptance of gender non-conformity may be a mediating process between contact with homosexuals, and lower prejudice towards them (Cramwinckel et al,, 2018). Quantitative research on this topic is less common, but one study found that acceptance of gender non-conformity mediated the relationship between intergroup contact and sexual prejudice in males (Collier, Bos & Standfort, 2012). Notably, this study chose to separate their analysis by gender, testing boys' attitudes towards homosexual men and vice versa for girls. This means that although this mediated relationship is supported in males, there is not sufficient understanding for the role of gender within prejudice towards lesbian women. So while this finding supports other previous research, showing that gender role beliefs are associated with negative evaluations towards homosexuals (Nierman, Thompson, Bryan, & Mahaffey, 2007), the literature is incomplete.

This study intends to build on these findings, investigating the relationships between gender role attitudes, social distance and further negative behaviour. Social distancing has shown reliable associations with attitudinal prejudice in past literature**.** Heterosexuals having higher levels of contact with homosexuals was associated with a decrease in negative attitudes towards homosexuals as early as 1996 (Herek & Capitanio, 1996). Meta-analytic review has consistently evidenced this effect (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), with the largest effect sizes being in heterosexuals who had contact with lesbians (Smith et al,, 2008). Therefore showing social distancing, one measure of contact, as a key predictor of behaviour towards lesbians. However more can be learnt through investigating the factors influencing these relationships.

Contact has been previously shown as a moderating variable, altering the strength of other variables. For example, one study found that religious fundamentalism scores had a reduced effect on sexual prejudice when contact with homosexual friends was high (Cunningham & Melton, 2013). This therefore indicates that reduced social distancing may create a positive effect in reducing negative prejudices. But how these changes in prejudices might relate to behavioural outcomes, is less known. Theoretically, social distance could be a mediator between modern and traditional homonegative attitudes and behaviour. Recent research has shown that desired social contact strongly related to cross-cultural homonegative attitudes (Worthen, 2018). Social distancing's putative effect on attitudes has primarily been evidenced in high prejudiced individuals using traditional homonegativity (Smith et al,, 2009), or as covert avoidance due to modern homonegative attitudes (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Therefore, social distancing could potentially mediate the relationship between traditional or modern homonegative attitudes, in relation to their effect on behaviour. Previous research has considered this possibility, for example one study on machismo (hyper masculine gender role beliefs) and sexual prejudice conducted in 2018. The researchers speculated that the gender role beliefs could be causing low levels of contact (Hirai, Dolma,

Popan & Winkle 2018). The research design by Hirai et al, (2018) didn't allow for them to consider the evidence towards this, however they considered if their results, finding that gender role belief to increase sexual prejudice, could be due to the social distancing caused. To address this, the current research aims to investigate social distance as a predictor of behavioural intention and a mediating factor of other variables. In particular, to further the knowledge learnt from the first study and to identify how gender role attitudes influence social distancing behaviour and if or how that relates to positive or negative behaviour in consequence.

Gender and Positive Behaviour

Within the study of attitudes and behaviour towards homosexual groups, social psychology has been criticised for viewing differences between homosexual and heterosexual groups, as only negative (Massey, 2010). The overuse of unipolar measurements misses opportunities to explore benevolent or improved attitudes within society. Positivity and negativity towards homosexuals have been shown to constitute two differing dimensions rather than opposing poles (Abrams, 2010) and to have no correlation (Goodman & Moradi, 2008), therefore a lack of negativity does not constitute positivity (Huic, Jelic & Kramenov, 2018). Research investigating behaviour should therefore consider both behavioural outcomes to better understand what may lead to individuals and society becoming more affirming and accepting of homosexual groups. Rather than extrapolating relationships that reduce prejudice, to positive and affirming outcomes for sexual equality. Subtle sexual orientation prejudice, and gender based prejudice have been shown to be associated with the absence of pro-LGBT behaviour (Fingerhut, 2011; Poteat, 2015; Poteat & Vecho, 2016). Reluctance to act as an ally or to fight prejudice expressed by others can be a subtle form of prejudice as it serves to

support societal and institutional discrimination, and therefore represents a form of subtle discrimination in and of itself (Cramwinckel et al,, 2018). Subtle prejudice is important to study not only because of behavioural outcomes and active harm but also due to its effect on others. When subtle prejudice is expressed, bystanders become more likely to express sexual orientation prejudice themselves (Krolikowski et al,, 2016). The mentioned research also found that this effect was not present when blatant sexual prejudice was expressed. Furthermore, when taken in the context of modern homonegativity, such as explained by the work of Morrison and Morrison (2011), lack of positive behaviour towards lesbians could reflect negativity. Modern homonegativity expresses a prejudice rooted in the belief that no more progress is needed to improve the lives of homosexual people. This goes hand in hand with a lack of willingness to support homosexual lives and rights.

The current study therefore aims to highlight the differing levels and complexity within negative views and behaviours towards lesbians but will also study positive engagement as not to make the same mistake. The use of positivity measurements prevents the conversation about societal attitudes towards lesbians not to be cut off at tolerance level.

Aims and Research Questions

The research of this thesis thus far has aimed to look at more subtle forms of prejudice such as social distancing, and therefore continues in this way. This study will examine the relationships between factors affecting behaviour towards lesbians. This study therefore aims to address predictors of positive and discriminatory behavioural intention, to investigate the relationship variables affecting these outcomes. To explore discriminatory behavioural intention (Huic, Jelic & Kamenov, 2016), as stemming from societal devaluation of sexual minority identities (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012), four research questions are proposed.

Firstly, what is the empirical role of heteronormativity in effecting other variables? Can it be shown empirically that heteronormative beliefs influence other gender and sexuality assumptions?

Secondly, do gender attitudes effect homonegativity, relating to behaviour? Can Goodman & Moradi's mediation model (2008) involving gender beliefs, traditional homonegativity and negative behavioural outcome be replicated, 11 years on?

Thirdly, how do modern homonegative attitudes compare to traditional homonegative attitudes in relation to behavioural output?

Finally this research aims to address the question: Do negative attitudes towards gender role impact social distancing, relating to further negative behaviour?

Methodology

Participants

Participants were recruited via volunteer and opportunity sampling via online advertisement and through distribution with undergraduate volunteers at the University of Lincoln. Five hundred and seventy participants were recruited to the study, and of these 385 provided complete data sets and were retained for analysis. Of those who gave their gender, 242 were female, 111 male, and 23 stated they were transgender, non-binary or genderqueer. The predominant sexuality of the sample was heterosexual (n = 227) and ages ranged from 18-61 (M = 24.8, SD = 8.27), with just over half of the participants being 18-21. Of the sample 87.5% were white/Caucasian (n = 337) and the majority of the sample was "not at all religious" (n = 280). Both economic and social policy related political affiliation was recorded, and just over half of the sample considered themselves left wing both economically (left wing n = 101, central left wing n = 116) and socially (left wing n = 166, central left wing n = 92). The majority of the sample listed being a student as their primary occupation and were studying subjects other than psychology (n = 188). The second largest primary occupation were those with jobs (n = 110).

Design

The study was an online survey consisting of seven questionnaires regarding attitudes towards lesbians, gender, social distancing and overt behavioural attention. Evidence of all questionnaires can be found in appendix H. As this study was exploratory in nature, topics guided by the literature were used to explore the data for known and unknown links.

Modern Homonegativity Scale – lesbian women (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). This measure consisted of 12 items, measured using a seven point Likert scale 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicated more agreement with modern homonegativity attitudes. One item "*Lesbian women who are 'out of the closet' should be admired for their courage*" was reverse coded. Higher scores indicated higher levels of intolerant attitudes towards lesbians. Sum scores of each participant's answers to the measure were used in analysis.

Attitudes Towards Lesbians Subscale - short version (ATL; Herek, 1988). This questionnaire was used to measure traditional homonegative attitudes towards lesbians. This measure consisted of 5 items measured using a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The short version of this scale was chosen to be used as it has shown to be highly correlated with the original, longer subscale and recommended for use (**Hereck 1994).** Higher scores indicated more homophobic negative beliefs about lesbians. Two questions were reverse coded, examples of this questionnaire can be seen in Table 3.1. A single mean score was created for statistical analysis.

Table 3.1. *Two examples of the homophobia based questionnaire*

	Question example
Attitudes towards lesbians (Herek, 1988)	Lesbians just can't fit into our society
	Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.*

*= reverse coded in SPSS

Gender Role Violation Questionnaire - lesbian only version (GVRQ; Doyle et al,, 2015). This questionnaire included statements about both gender-non conforming physical appearances and lesbian relationships. Participants answered to what degree they perceived these items to violate traditional gender roles, on a 5 point Likert scale 1 (*not a violation*) to 5 (*extreme violation*). The definition of a gender role was given stating "*Please answer these questions based on the definition that a gender role violation is something women should not do because they are female*". The appearance and relationship subscales had 4 questions each (8 total), but per the original use of this scale participants answered all statements giving both their personal opinions and their perceptions of society's opinion (16 questions total). Examples of questions from the subscales can be seen in Table 3.2. After considering that all conditions were highly correlated, sum scores were created to combine the personal and societal answers. Therefore, analysis was conducted on an overall appearance subscale (4 questions of overall score), and an overall relationships subscale (4 questions of overall score). The affective component of the GRVQ and items related to male homosexuality were removed as they were not applicable to the current research.

Table 3.2. *Examples of each subscale of the questionnaire*

Gender Role Violation Questionnaire (Doyle et al,, 2015)	**Example**
Appearance own opinion	A woman has spiked hair. What is your opinion?
Appearance societal opinion	A woman sits with legs open. What is society's opinion?
Relationship own opinion	A woman dates another woman. What is your opinion?
Relationships societal opinion	A woman has sex with another woman. What is society's opinion?

Social distance measure (Link et al,, 1987). Covert negative behavioural intention was measured using this questionnaire, as per in the first study, in chapter 2. Alpha scores for this and all scales can be seen in table 3.5.

Proportion of individual responses to statements concerning the willingness to engage in positive behaviours, aimed at improving the social status of homosexuals (Huic et al,, 2016). This questionnaire was used to measure overt positive behavioural intention. Participants answered how willing they would be on a 5 point scale to engage in behaviours supportive of activism for homosexuals. The scale ran from 1 (*not at all willing*) to 5 (*yes, completely willing*). A mean overall score of the 6 questions was calculated for each participant, with higher scores indicating more readiness to engage in positive behaviours. There were 6 questions overall in this measure, examples can be seen in Table 3.3.

Overt negative behaviour. Proportion of affirmative responses to statements concerning the willingness to discriminate against homosexuals (Huic et al,, 2016). This questionnaire was used to measure overt negative behaviour. This scale used 14 examples of discriminatory behaviour to which participants answered if yes or no, they would be willing to do that behaviour. Examples can be seen in Table 3.3. Yes was coded as 2 in SPSS and no as 1, here meaning higher scores indicated higher levels of negative behaviour towards homosexual people.

Table 3.3. *Examples of questions regarding both positive and negative behaviour.*

Behaviour type (Huic et al,, 2016)	**Example**
Positive behaviours (activism)	Advocating for the equality of homosexual persons in discussions/conversations with friends or acquaintances
	Taking part in the gay pride parade
Negative behaviours (discrimination)	I would renounce my child if he/she told me he/she is homosexual.
	I would not buy a house or a flat if I found out that the next door neighbours are homosexual

Heteronormativity (Habarth, 2015). This scale was used to measure the level of heteronormativity of the sample. Participants answered from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) how much they agreed with statements within 2 subscales. Both the essential sex and gender subscale and the normative behaviour subscale consisted of 8 items each. Four items were reverse coded, 1 example is given alongside other questions in Table 3.4. Summed scores of each subscale were created for SPSS analysis.

Table 3.4. *Heteronormativity subscales and associated questions.*

Heteronormativity subscales (Habarth, 2015)	**Example**
Essential Sex and Gender	Masculinity and femininity are determined by biological factors, such as genes and hormones, before birth
	Gender is something we learn from society*
Normative Behaviour	In intimate relationships, women and men take on roles according to gender for a reason; it is really the best way to have a successful relationship
	Women and men need not fall into stereotypical gender roles when in an intimate relationship*

*= reverse coded in SPSS

Alpha scores

Table 3.5. *Alpha scores for all measures used.*

Questionnaire	Subscale	Alpha score
Gender Role Violation Questionnaire	Appearance	.63
	Relationships	.83
Modern Homonegativity Scale		.93
Social Distance		.89
Heteronormativity	Essential Sex and Gender	.36
	Normative Behaviour	.81
Attitudes Towards Lesbians (short form)		.57
Behavioural intention (my wording)	Willingness to engage in positive behaviour	.90
	Willingness to discriminate against homosexuals	.88

Of note are the poor scores for the Attitudes Towards Lesbians scale, Appearance subscale of the Gender Role Violation Questionnaire and the Essential Sex and Gender subscale of the Heteronormativity scale. Implications are considered in the results section.

Procedure

The study took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Participants were invited to share their attitudes about gender roles, but not told until the debrief that the study was on homosexuality. Seven of the eight questionnaires used in this study were presented randomly to participants. The ATL questionnaire was chosen to be presented last within the study as it represented some of the most extreme views within the survey. This was in order to prevent the ATL from effecting MHS scores (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee & Podsakoff, 2003). Participants therefore answered the attitude, behavioural, heteronormativity and social desirability questionnaires in different orders. Similarly to the first study, questions within subscales were also randomised. The social distance scale again wasn't, due to the

standardised order. Participants answered demographic information last. Economic and social political views were collected separately, using a spectrum including “left, central left, central, central right” and “right”. Age, sexuality, ethnicity, gender, religious affiliation, and occupation were also collected. Date of birth was also collected to prevent using data of an individual doing the study more than once. A debrief explaining the details of this study was provided (appendix I), as well as a link for participants to enter themselves into a prize draw as thanks for their participation. This final step was voluntary, data was held separately to data from the survey and the winner was announced shortly after data collection finished.

Ethics

The study was advertised to the public via social media. It was also posted on a student specific website (SONA) and distributed by undergraduate volunteers to their peers. Online posts were made with standardised instructions which briefly introduced the research (appendix D). Participants read an introduction which briefed them on the nature and length of the research, as well as their rights as a participants (appendix E). All information was in accordance with BPS guidelines and was approved by the University of Lincoln School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (SOPREC; Appendix G). Before the study, consent forms were signed by each participant (appendix F). Participants also created a unique number for anonymity and so that they could withdraw their data if needed. There were no perceived risk to participants however information for LBGT+ charities and places to discuss the nature of the research was given. Data was stored in compliance with GDPR guidelines.

Results

Descriptive Statistics.

Table 3.6. *Means and Standard Deviations of measures and their subscales.*

Questionnaire	Mean	Standard deviation
Gender Role Violation Questionnaire – Appearance Scale	14.95	3.87
Gender Role Violation Questionnaire – Relationships Scale	14.52	4.92
Modern Homonegativity Scale	26.79	9.78
Attitudes Towards Lesbian Scale	8.91	3.73
Social Distance Measure	0.41	1.58
Heteronormativity – Essential Sex and Gender Scale	14.59	3.01
Heteronormativity – Normative Behavior Scale	14.53	3.03
Behavioral Intention – Willingness to engage in positive behavior	24.84	6.02
Behavioral intention – Willingness to discriminate (negative behavior)	14.45	1.53

Note: Higher scores on all measures equal higher levels of the construct.

The descriptive statistics show potential floor effects in the Attitude Towards Lesbians scale, which could provide explanation for the poor alpha score (table 3.5). This could have occurred from using the short form of the scale within a sample with mostly tolerant attitudes as shown by the mean scores of the other scales.

Table 3.7. *Correlations between all scales.*

		Gender Role Violation Questionnaire (GRVQ)		Attitude scales		Behavioural Intention scales		Social distance scale	Heteronormativity	
		Appearance subscale (A)	Relationships subscale (R)	Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS)	Attitudes Towards Lesbians (ATL)	Discriminatory behaviour (DB)	Positive behaviour (PB)	Social Distance (SD)	Essential Sex and Gender subscale (ES)	Normative Behaviour subscale (NB)
GRVQ	A	1								
	R	.44***	1							
Attitude scales	MHS	-.07	-.01	1						
	ATL	-.02	.22***	.39***	1					
Behavioural Intention	DB	.15**	.30***	.36***	.55***	1				
	PB	.09	-.14**	-.67***	-.48***	.49***	1			
	SD	.04	.25***	.23***	.41***	.48***	-.35***	1		
Heteronormativity	ES	-.02	.002	.55***	.25***	-.44***	.15**	.12*	1	
	NB	.02	.19***	.58***	.61***	-.65***	.52***	.43***	.39***	1

*p<.05, **p<.01 *** p<.001

Note: Higher scores on all measures equal higher levels of the construct

Pearson's correlation analyses were conducted between all measurements and subscales to investigate potential relationships. Table 3.7 shows all scales had positive correlation with negative behaviour, indicating that participants who held more negative attitudes, perceived lesbian appearance and relationships to violate gender roles and who preferred more distance from them, were associated with more discriminatory behaviour. The same was true for positive behaviour, in a negative direction, minus a significant association with the appearance subscale of the Gender Role Violation Questionnaire (GRVQA). This subscale had poor internal reliability, likely affecting its relationship with other scales.

Regression and Mediation Analyses

Positive Behaviour

The first step in analysis involved conducting a stepwise regression on the correlates of positive behaviour. The Modern Homonegativity Scale (β = -.44, $t(380) = -10.11$, $p = .001$) and Normative Behaviour subscale of the Heteronormativity scale (β = -.26, $t(380) = -5.83$, $p = .001$) were the largest significant predictors in the final model ($F(4,380) = 116.43$, $p = .001$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .55$). More Homonegative and Heteronormative attitudes resulted in less positive behaviour. The Social Distancing scale was also a significant predictor *(*β =.-.*10,* $t(380) = -2.53$, $p = .012$*).* Although the associated *p* value had increased and beta score had decreased in comparison to its correlational score (see Table 3.7). This suggested that the Social Distancing scale could be involved in a potential mediating relationship. A hierarchical regression was therefore conducted, the overview of this can be seen in Table 3.8.

A hierarchical regression with five stages was conducted, with positive behaviour as the dependent variable, controlling for Normative Behaviour. Normative Behaviour was chosen due to the theoretical argument that these attitudes affect negativity towards lesbians. As well as the evidence of its predictive ability from the stepwise regression. There was therefore sufficient theoretical and data driven evidence that this variable may predict the mediating relationships. In the first stage, Normative Behaviour was entered and in the second, other variables were added in order of theoretical interest, to explore potential changes in variances. This gave five total models.

Table 3.8. *Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Predictors of Positive Behaviour towards Homosexuals.*

Predicting Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Heteronormativity: Normative Behaviour	-.64***	-.59***	-.59***	-.52***	-.26***
Social Distance		-.12**	-.11*	-.08	-.09*
Gender Role Violations Questionnaire (Relationship Scale)			-.03	-.01	-.07
Attitudes Towards Lesbians				-.15**	-.12*
Modern Homonegativity Scale					-.45***
R^2	.41	.42	.42	.43	.55
F	260.65***	136.24***	90.81***	71.66***	94.34***

Note: Standardised beta coefficients reported

*p<.05, **p<.01 ***p<.001

The final model of the regression explained a significant amount of variance in positive behaviour $F(5,379) = 94.34$, $p = .001$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .55$. However for the purposes of mediation the fourth model yielded the most interesting results $F(4,380) = 71.66$, $p = .001$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .42$. In model 4 the Social Distancing scale again increased in *p* value, signifying a potential mediation ($\beta = -.08$, $t(380) = -1.88$, $p = .061$). Here meaning that the preference for more social distancing, resulted in less positive behaviour. The Gender Role Violation Questionnaire subscale, Relationship Scale (GVRQ) behaved similarly. As compared to its significance value and correlation coefficient (see see Table 3.7) in model 4, the *p* value increased notably ($\beta = -.01$, $t(380) = -.28$, $p = .778$). This means that viewing lesbian relationships as less of a gender role violation resulted in more positive behaviour. These changes are also notable in model 5, but to a lesser extent. As the hierarchical regression

further suggested overlapping variance and potential mediation, mediation analysis was therefore conducted to investigate this.

Mediation for Positive Behaviour

A mediation analysis was conducted to examine whether the relationship between heteronormative attitudes towards behaviour (Normative Behaviour subscale) and positive behavioural intention, was mediated by viewing lesbian relationships as violations of gender roles (GRVQR) and a preference for social distancing from lesbians. Hayes' (2018) PROCESS macro (model 6, 5000 bootstraps) was used for this analysis. Results revealed two significant models, one overall (model 1; Figure 3.1) and one partial mediation (indirect 2). The analysis additionally showed two non-significant models with interesting relationships (Indirect pathways 2 and 3 respectively).

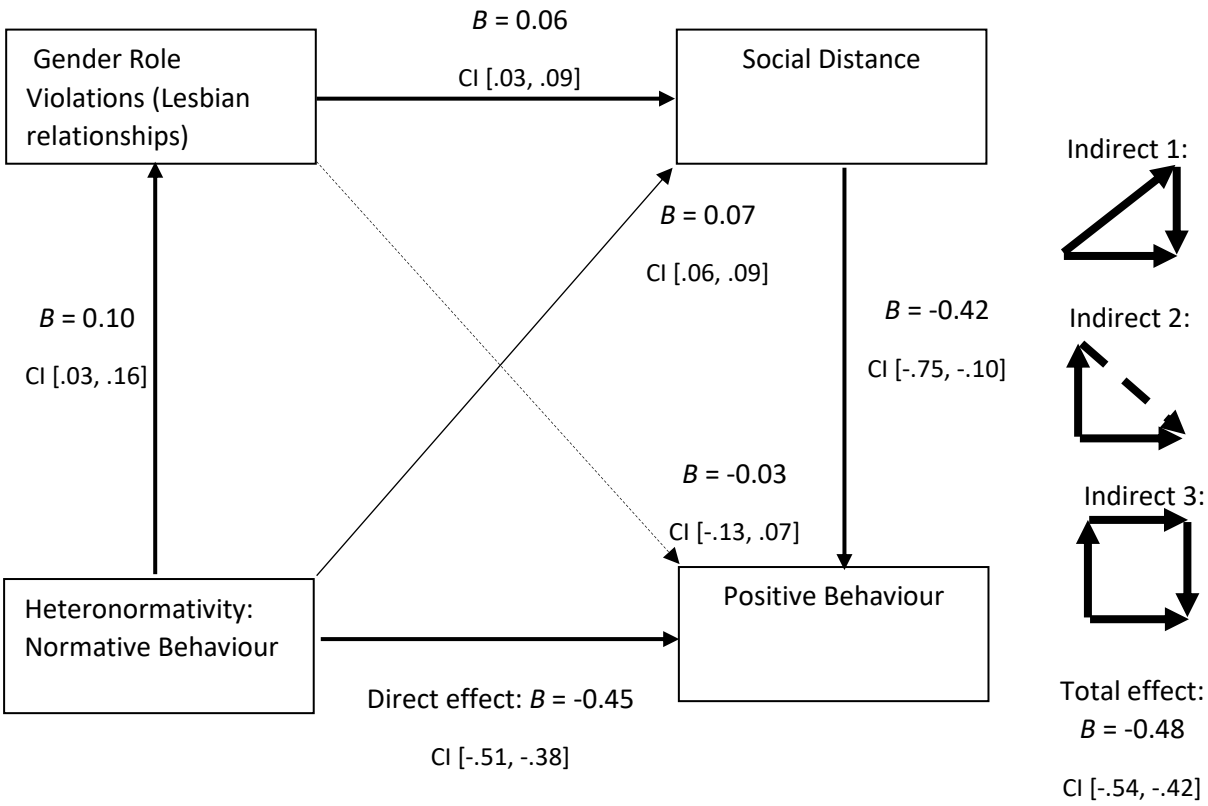

Figure 3.1. Coefficients and diagram of model 1, the overall model of Heteronormativity, Gender Role Violations and Social Distance on Positive Behaviour. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.

Model 1 shows that there was a significant total effect *B* = -0.48, *SE* = 0.03, 95% CI [-.52, -.42]. Within this, Heteronormativity had a significant negative direct effect (*B* = -0.45, *SE* = 0.03, 95% CI [.-51, -.38]) on Positive Behaviour. As well as this there was a significant overall indirect effect (*B* = -0.04, *SE* = 0.02, 95% CI [-.08, -.01]), showing that Positive Behaviour was reduced through the relationships between the variables, starting with heteronormativity.

Breaking down the models within the significant total effect, the first indirect pathway within Model 1 shows partial mediation. The indirect effect of Heteronormativity on Positive Behaviour through Social Distancing was significant *B* = -0.03, *SE* = 0.02, 95% CI [-.07, -

.004]. Whilst also having a significant direct effect *B* = -0.45, *SE* = 0.03, 95% CI [.-51, -.38]. This is illustrated in Figure 2.1 as indirect pathway 1.

Indirect pathway 2 shows that Heteronormativity had a significant effect on increasing Gender Role Violation attitudes (*B* = 0.10, *SE* = 0.03, 95% CI [.03, .16]), but this did not result in a reduction in Positive Behaviour (*B* = -0.03, *SE* = 0.05, 95% CI [-.13, .07]).

Indirect pathway 3 shows that the pathways from Heteronormativity, through to Positive Behaviour via Gender Role Violation attitudes and Social Distancing are individually significant. However the overall indirect effect was not (*B* = -0.002, *SE* <= 0.01, 95% CI [-.01, .01]). Therefore further testing to investigate the relationship of the mediating variables on positive behaviour, without heteronormativity, was conducted (see Figure 2.2).

A mediation analysis examined whether the relationship between viewing lesbian relationships as violations of gender roles (GRVQR), and positive behavioural intention (PB), is mediated by social distancing from lesbians (SD). Hayes 2018 process macro (model 4, 5000 bootstraps) was used for this analysis.

Results revealed a significant indirect effect *B* = -0.10, SE 0.05, 95% CI [-.23, -.02]. Specifically the indirect effect explained more of the total effect (*B* = -0.18, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [-.30, -.05]) than the direct effect, which was non-significant (*B* = -0.07, SE = 0.06, 95% CI [-.19, .04]). This showed that the relationship between GRVQR and positive behavioural intention was better explained with social distance as a mediator. Therefore, it is not a reduction in perceiving lesbian relationships as violating gender roles alone which leads to positive behaviour. It is the link between that and a reduction in the want for social distance from lesbians that results in positive behaviour. See Figure 3.2 for pathway coefficients.

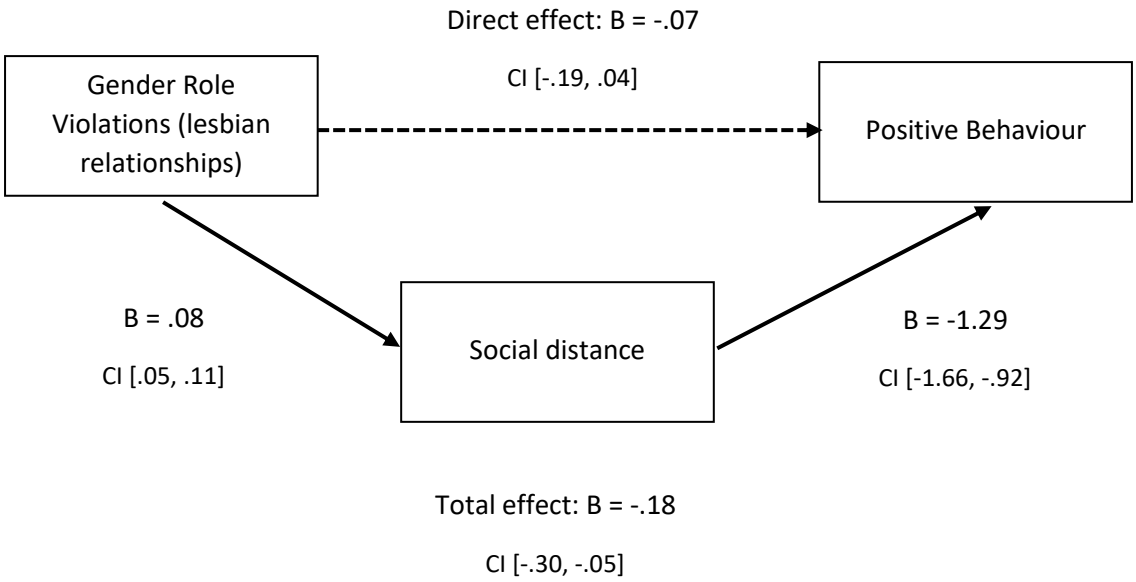

Figure 3.2. Coefficients and diagram of an additional model (model 2) to test if the indirect pathway 3 would be significant without the addition of heteronormativity. The relationship of Gender Role Violations (lesbian relationships) and Social Distance on Positive Behaviour. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.

Discriminatory behaviour

A stepwise regression was conducted on the correlates of negative behaviour. The Attitudes Towards Lesbians scale (ATL; β = .36, $t(379) = 7.76$, $p = .001$) and the Social Distancing scale (β = .26, $t(379) = 5.96$, $p = .001$) were the largest significant predictors in the final model ($F(5,379) = 57.74$, p = .001, $R^2_{adjusted} = .43$). The Gender Role Violations Questionnaire: Relationship scale (GVRQR) was a significant predictor of positive behaviour in the final model (β = -.12, $t(379) = 2.52$ $p = .012$). Although its p value had increased in comparison and beta score had decreased in comparison to its correlational score (see Table 3.7). This therefore suggested that the GVRQR was involved in a potential mediation relationship. A hierarchical regression was therefore conducted, the overview of this can be seen in Table 3.9.

A hierarchical regression with five stages was conducted, with negative behaviour as the dependent variable, controlling for the GVRQR. The GVRQR was chosen to explore potential changes in variance and identify the mediating relationship. In the first stage, the GVRQR was entered and in the second, other variables were added in no particular order. This gave five total models.

Table 3.9. *Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Predictors of Discriminatory behaviour towards Lesbians.*

Predicting Variables	Regression 1	Regression 2	Regression 3	Regression 4	Regression 5
Gender Role Violations Questionnaire (Relationship Scale)	.30***	.31***	.22***	.17***	.12*
Modern Homonegativity Scale		.37***	.28**	.17***	.17***
Social Distance			.36***	.26***	.26***
Attitudes Towards Lesbians				.35***	.36***
Gender Role Violations Questionnaire (Appearance Scale)					.11*
R^2	.09	.22	.33	.42	.43
F	38.22***	55.27***	64.88***	69.69***	57.73***

Note: Standardised beta coefficients reported

*p<.05, **p<.01 ***p<.001

The final model explained a significant amount of variance in discriminatory behaviour $F(5,379) = 57.74$, $p = .001$, R^2 adjusted = .43). The regression showed that the Attitudes Towards Lesbian scale accounted for the greatest variance within the model (β = .36, $t(379) = 7.76$, $p = .001$). Meaning that more traditional homonegative attitudes resulted in more discriminatory behavioural intention. Social Distance also accounted for variance within the model (β =.25, $t(379) = 5.96$, $p = .001$). Being more unwilling to be close to lesbians increased discriminatory behavioural intention. The Modern Homonegativity Scale was also a significant predictor of discriminatory behavioural intention (β =.17, $t(379) = 4.03$, $p = .001$). Meaning that having more modern homonegativity attitudes resulted in more discriminatory behavioural intention.

The GRVQR was a significant predictor of positive behaviour in the first regression stage (β = .30, $t(383) = 6.19$, $p = .001$). Here meaning that viewing lesbian relationships as a gender role violation resulted in more discriminatory behavioural intention (β = .30, 95% CI [.06, .12]. However, its p value increased in the fourth regression (β = .12, $t(380) = 2.52$, $p = 0.12$), due to GRVQ: Appearance scale (GVRQA). The GRVQA was also a significant predictor in the fourth regression, showing that viewing masculine presenting lesbians as a gender role violation resulted in more discriminatory behavioural intention (β = .11, $t(380) = 2.48$, $p = .014$). The rise in p value suggested that the variance of GRVQR was better explained by the addition of the GRVQA. Mediation analysis was therefore conducted to investigate this.

Mediations for Discriminatory Behaviour

A mediation analysis was conducted to examine whether the relationship between GRVQA and Discriminatory Behavioural outcome, was mediated by GRVQR. Hayes 2018 PROCESS macro (model 4, 5000 bootstraps).

Results revealed a significant indirect effect $B = 0.05$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [.02, .09]. Specifically the indirect effect explained more of the total effect ($B = 0.06$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [.02, .10]) than the direct effect, which was non-significant ($B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [-.03, .05]). This relationship demonstrates a full mediation. See model 3, Figure 3.3 for pathway coefficients.

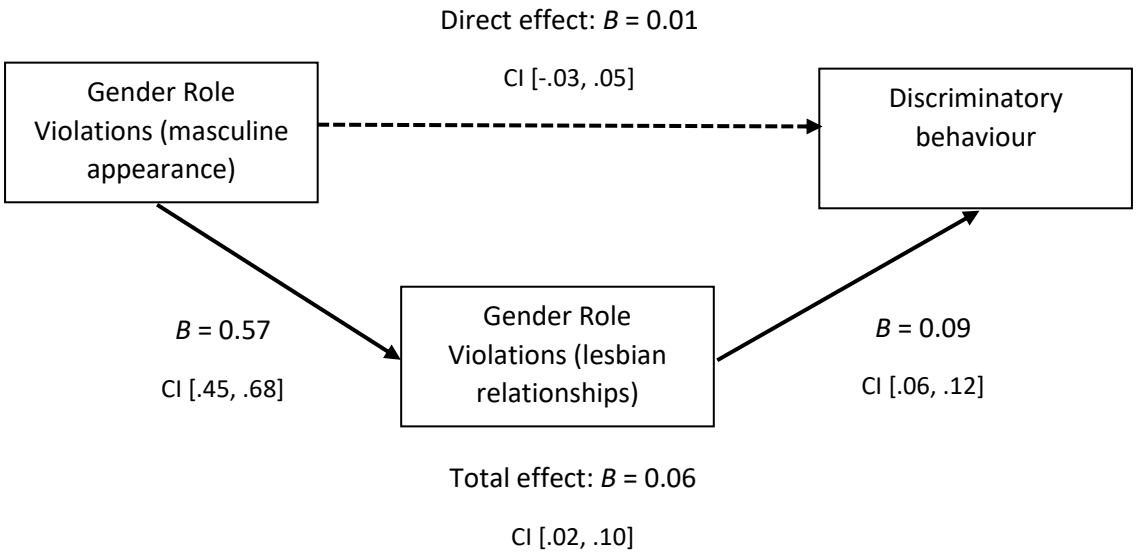

Figure 3.3. Coefficients and diagram of model 3, the mediation of Gender Role Violation Questionnaire: Appearance scale between GRVQ: Relationship scale and discriminatory behaviour. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.

To test the hypothesis that traditional beliefs about gender roles will be mediated by antigay attitudes in predicting discriminatory behaviours (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). A mediation analysis was conducted.

Results revealed a significant indirect effect *B* = 0.03, *SE* = 0.01, 95% CI [.01, .07]. Specifically, the total effect of gender role violations (*B* = 0.09, *SE* = 0.01, 95% [.05, .12]) was reduced but remained significant when accounting for traditional attitudes towards lesbians (*B* = 0.06, *SE* = 0.01, 95% CI [.03, .09]). Demonstrating partial mediation. See Model 4 (Figure 3.4) for pathway coefficients.

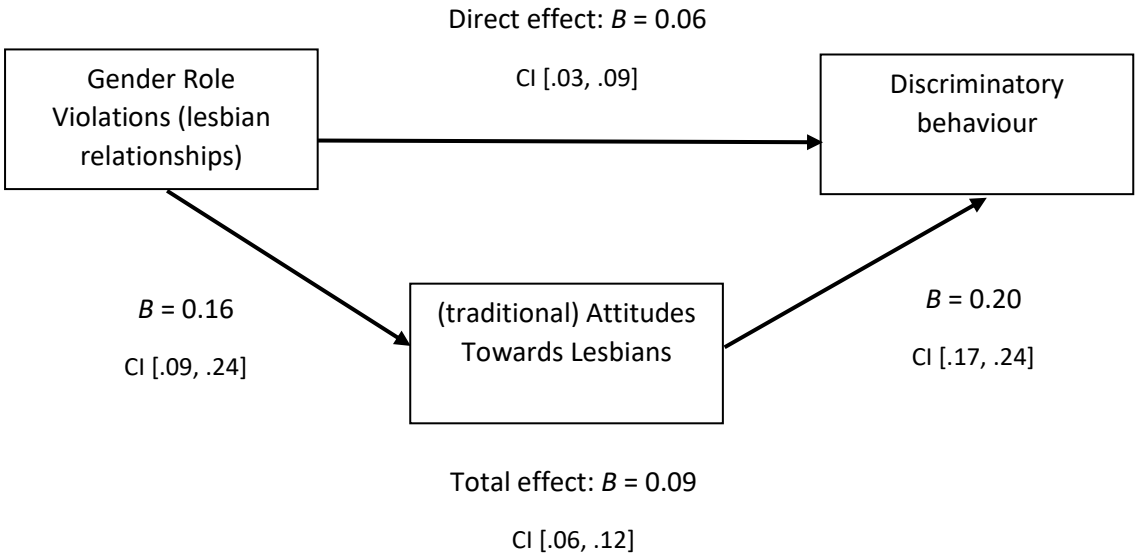

Figure 3.4. Coefficients and diagram of model 4, the mediation of traditional attitudes towards lesbians between perceptions of lesbian relationships as gender role violations, and discriminatory behaviour.

Discussion

The evidence presented in this study considers the impact of gender role violation attitudes and heteronormativity in effecting other variables, resulting in behavioural intention. One model with two mediators found several relationships of interest, relating to a reduction in positive behavioural intention. Two separate mediating relationships also analyse the complexities of gender roles resulting in discriminatory behaviour.

Gender, Homonegativity and Discriminatory Behaviour

The contribution of intolerance to gender role invariance was questioned in this study. This work intended to revisit a mediation first shown in 2008 (Goodman & Moradi, 2008), to identify if the concept had changed in 10 years. The study aimed to see if the mediation including traditional gender attitudes and rejecting behaviour was relevant to masculine appearance and same sex relationships as gender role violations, and discriminatory behaviour. What was found was that beliefs about lesbian relationships as gender role violations did increase traditional homonegativity resulting in discriminatory behaviour (model 4, Figure 3.4). Whereas previous evidence from Goodman & Moradi (2008), used a general measure of traditional gender attitudes, this study refined this relationship to evidence that attitudes about lesbian relationships as a violation of gender roles, increases discriminatory behaviour against lesbians. Addressing previous research criticising treating homosexual groups as homogenous (Worthen, 2013), and showing that gender role beliefs specific to sexuality increase homonegative attitudes. What this shows is that as previously thought, the attitudes leading to negative behaviour towards lesbians manifests itself in both traditional religious and moral based homonegativity (such as traditional homonegativity; Herek, 1988) and beliefs about homosexuality as a gender role violation (Doyle et al,, 2015).

However as well as this, it shows that these attitudes can be present in combination, such as the "double violator" effect found in previous literature (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Furthermore, this sample had relatively low levels of traditional homonegativity (see Table 3.6) confirming previous recent research which had identified that over time homonegativity has been decreasing (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014). Therefore, these results are also relevant to this context to show a possible reason why although attitudes may be lower, negative behaviour persists. This result would suggest it could potentially be due to the double effect of having both negative attitudes towards lesbians based in traditional homonegativity and gender roles.

Attitudes towards gender identity non-conformity as a gender role violating factor, did not correlate with negative attitude, or a reduction in positive behaviour like its subscale counterpart (gender role violations sexuality scale). It was predicted that gender role beliefs about gender-conforming appearance would have an effect on behaviour. This was because previous research found that gender role based beliefs increased prejudicial attitude (Lick & Johnson, 2014) and hyper-gender-role orientation predicted anti-gay behaviour (Whitley, 2001). Additionally, previous qualitative research had defended that more negative behaviour towards sexual minority men was often justified due to the rejection of their gender non-conformity (Buijs et al,, 2011). Therefore, the impact of masculine appearance (gender non-conforming presentation) was investigated within its relation to lesbian's relations as a gender role violation. Analysis identified a significant full mediation relationship, showing that the impact of masculine appearance on increasing discrimination towards lesbians was better explained with the addition of perceiving lesbian relationships as violations of gender roles (model 3, Figure 3.3). Confirming previous research that found that attitudes towards gender-nonconformity impact prejudicial attitudes towards homosexuals (Lick & Johnson, 2014). Additionally, supporting the qualitative findings of Buijs et al, (2011), which suggested that

increased negative behaviour towards gay men was justified due to attitude towards gender-non conformity as unacceptable. This result therefore shows that this finding towards gay men can be empirically defended within attitudes resulting in discriminatory behaviour towards lesbians. Furthermore, previous research had only addressed if gender role beliefs are an individual predictor of anti-gay behaviour (Whitley, 2001). This result suggests that the effect that masculine appearance has on negative behaviour, does not occur independently. Here showing gender non-conforming appearance does not affect discriminatory behavioural intention towards homosexuals alone. It is with the addition of finding lesbian relationships to be violating gender roles, which increases intention to discriminate. This therefore suggests that future research should consider the impact of attitude towards gender non-conformity as an impactful relationship along with sexual prejudice that has negative behavioural consequences.

Gender, Heteronormativity and Positive Behaviour

Within positive behavioural intention, mixed results were found. Firstly, the relationship between attitudes regarding lesbian relationships to violate prescribed gender roles, and positive behavioural intention was better explained with social distance as a full mediator (model 2; Figure 3.2). Previous research had found sexual and gender based prejudicial attitude to be associated with the absence of positive behaviour towards homosexuals (Fingerhut, 2011; Poteat, 2015). The current results suggests that it is not a reduction in perceiving lesbian relationships as violating gender roles *alone* which causes a reduction in positive behaviour. Rather, that higher scores in this variable increases the want for social distance from lesbians, and it is this relationship which reduces positive behavioural intention. Here providing evidence of negative outcomes stemming from perceiving lesbian

relationships to violate gender role beliefs, as well as evidencing social distancing as a mediating variable.

Firstly, this result adds to the previous evidence of gender role attitudes resulting in negative behaviour (Goodman & Moradi, 2008), but from a different perspective. Other research has suggested that reluctance to act as an ally or to fight prejudice is in of itself a subtle form of prejudice (Poteat & Vecho, 2016), as it allows the continuation of societal discrimination (Cramwinckel et al,, 2018). This result shows that gender role attitudes relating to sexuality are associated with a reduction in positive behaviour, due to their effect on other variables. This supports the importance of investigating gender role attitudes and identifying it as a factor preventing participants from engaging in behaviour to promote sexual equality. Secondly, this result addresses speculation from recent research which considered if gender role beliefs could be a reason behind low levels of contact with homosexuals in prejudicial individuals (Haiai, Dolma, Popan & Winkle, 2018). This manifestation as shown by the mediation, is suggesting that unwillingness to associate with lesbian women is the key additional factor which later decreases the likelihood of engaging in behaviour beneficial towards lesbians. This is supportive of previous research, however cannot address the causality first suggested by Haiai et al, (2018), which future research should investigate.

Furthermore, as well as gender role violation beliefs, social distance was found to be affected by heteronormativity. More heteronormative behaviour attitudes resulted in regarding lesbian relationships as gender role violating behaviour, which resulted in more social distancing. This signifies one of the first empirical tests, using the heteronormative scale, of the relationship heteronormative attitudes have with prejudicial behaviour. Previous literature had applied heteronormative theory to discrimination of sexual minority women (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012), suggesting that compulsory gender binary attitudes and heterosexuality lead to homosexuals being discriminated against more than heterosexuals. Qualitative research

had also shown heteronormative attitude to discriminatory behaviour (Kitzinger 2005; Nixon 2010). Within the understanding of lack of positive behaviour towards homosexuals (Poteat & Vecho, 2016), this result therefore supports these previous studies.

The larger overall model (model 1; Figure 3.1) which investigated the mediation between gender role beliefs and positive behaviour as stemming from heteronormative attitudes, accepted the null hypothesis. Previous research had identified heteronormativity as impacting prejudicial attitudes and behaviour (Ward & Schneider, 2009), therefore this was tested in relation to positive behavioural outcome. This non-significant indirect result shows that this particular conceptualisation is not supported, in that this combination of multiple mediators does not result in impacting positive behaviour. Despite this, model 1 highlights an initial empirical representation of possible relationships between heteronormative attitudes and prejudicial attitudes and behaviour towards lesbians. For example, theoretically heteronormative beliefs should influence gender role violation attitudes according to previous research (Doyle et al,, 2015), which Model 1 shows. Although this relationship did not have an effect on positive behaviour, it adds further empirical evidence supporting heteronormative theory's conceptualisation that societal norms influence prejudice towards lesbians **(**Epstein et al,, 2003). Therefore, findings from Model 1 provide new evidence towards how societally held assumptions impact prejudice. Here showing that beliefs about gender norms and sexuality such as the theory of heteronormativity impact prejudicial attitudes towards lesbians based in gender role, and subtle behavioural prejudice such as social distancing (see Figure 3.1).

Additionally, the overall indirect relationship between heteronormative attitudes and positive behavioural outcome may not have been significant, as heteronormative attitudes may potentially be more applicable to negative behavioural outcome. Although as mentioned, lack of positive behaviour can be seen as subtle discrimination (Cramwinckel et al,, 2018;

Morrison and Morrison, 2011)**,** empirical evidence regarding heteronormative attitudes reducing positive behaviour is low as previous research has focused on overt negative behaviour (Lick & Johnson 2014; Massey, 2009; Yep, 2003). Therefore more complex representations of how heteronormative attitude effects behaviour may be present using measures of overt negative behaviour. The current results of model 1 are promising, however show that further research is needed to better understand measurement of heteronormative attitudes, and the impact of these on prejudicial attitudes and behaviours. As some of the first empirical research into the impact of heteronormative attitudes, model 1 (Figure 3.1) was one exploratory representation of the possible relationships that heteronormativity has. Therefore, further relationships may be present to explain the effect of heteronormative attitudes on behaviour towards lesbians.

Modern Homonegative Attitudes

The current study also set out to compare the behavioural outcomes of both traditional and modern homonegativity. Attitudes appear to be shifting from traditional, blatant homonegativity based in religious or moral justification (such as proposed by Herek, 1988), to modern subtle forms (Dovidio & Gartner, 2004), such as those indexed by the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Comparison of the predictors of discriminatory behaviour, stemming from the regression analysis, showed that traditional attitudes had a much stronger effect on discriminatory behavioural intention than other variables. Addressing the role of traditional homonegative attitudes within research showing that despite a reduction in homonegative attitudes, negative behaviour towards lesbians persists (Bostwick et al,, 2014). As this result shows that in terms of behavioural outcome, traditional homonegative attitudes still the highest predictor. This result is particularly salient

as it occurs in a sample holding low traditional homonegative attitudes (see Table 3.6). Which supports evidence that traditional homonegativity is reducing (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014). However at the same time it argues that traditional homonegative attitudes still hold strength in explaining negativity towards lesbians. As the effect on behaviour was still significant even in a sample with lower mean levels of traditional homonegativity.

The reasons as to why traditional attitudes are still relevant in populations less likely to hold such views is therefore an important area for future research to investigate. For example, due to the correlational significance that traditional homonegative attitudes had with heteronormativity, it may be beneficial for this relationship to be considered. The fact that these distinct concepts were correlated could signify potential to explain how samples such as this one, justify traditionally based homophobia outside of moral or religious reasoning. The sample from this study scored low in religiosity and were relatively liberal, (as indicated in the Participants section of the methods), two concepts well known for increasing traditional homonegativity (Huic et al,, 2016). It may be that participants found themselves reflecting traditional homonegative attitudes, because of their opposition to that which is not heterosexuality. As previously mentioned, heteronormativity theorises that "majority vs minority" based opposition to anything other than cisgender and heterosexual individuals, increases homonegative attitudes (Yep, 2003). The traditional attitudes towards lesbian's scale used in this study was the shortest form, which missed a majority of the scale regarding moral and religious justification. For example, two of the 5 items in the short form Attitudes Towards Lesbians scale (Herek, 1988) regarded society, stating that lesbians did not fit in, or that it is what society makes of homosexuality, that is the problem. As heteronormative theory assumes that societally reinforced beliefs about gender and heterosexuality cause homonegativity (Ward & Schneider, 2009), the crossover of societally held beliefs between

the traditional homonegativity and heteronormativity measures may explain the correlation between them. Therefore, there could be the potential for participants to be expressing traditional attitudes within a context which had more relevance to them.

However, in terms of the role of modern homonegative attitudes, analysis showed that an increase in modern homonegativity attitudes was the most significant predictor in reducing positive behavioural intention. This addresses previous literature showing that the two homonegative attitude types are distinct from each other (Morrison et al,, 2009; Romero et al,, 2015), as furthermore it shows that they are the highest predictors of differing behavioural outcomes. Potentially, the conceptual differences between traditional and modern attitudes are at play here. For example, agreeing with items in the modern homonegativity scale relates directly to beliefs about how sexuality equality has been reached (Morrison & Morrison, 2002), whereas traditional attitudes are rooted in perceptions of homosexual as moral or religious violators (Herek, 1988). For example, active consideration of some of the items in the Modern Homonegativity Scale involve individuals assessing their level of acceptance of lesbians' rights and lifestyle. These items represent necessary thoughts about if the individual perceives lesbians to be treated equally, considering them as a social group and justifying negativity towards them based on perception that there is no need for activism to improve their lives. Traditional homonegative attitudes items however focus on what individuals or society perceive to be wrong with lesbians, rather than if they are treated equally.

In this understanding, modern homonegative attitudes involve attitudes towards activism, therefore explaining why in this study higher modern homonegative beliefs predicted lower willingness to be an activist for equality for lesbians. Further research should aim to clarify this relationship and investigate if attitudes towards activism drive the differences between modern and traditional homonegative attitudes. If further research supports that modern homonegative attitudes are related to activism, it would be beneficial for further research to

identify ways to combat modern homonegativity, if looking to increase positive behaviour towards homosexuals. Previous research has stated that comparatively to negative behaviour, research on positive behaviour towards lesbians has been scarce (Huic et al,, 2018). Therefore future work would approach this research gap, as well as identify factors preventing behaviour that benefits sexual minorities.

Conclusions

Social distancing was supported by this research as an outcome of gender role beliefs, resulting in both positive and negative behavioural intention. Social distancing is a valuable variable that has been identified as a precursor to further behaviour as a barrier to positive behaviour and predictor of active discrimination. Heteronormativity's role was complex, and further research directions have been discussed. However, its impact on gender role violation attitudes and the resulting mediations are promising in developing the empirical knowledge of the outcomes of this variable. Additionally, the results showed that attitudes towards masculine appearance are a stronger predictor of discriminatory behaviour in conjunction with attitudes towards lesbian relationships as a gender role violation, than alone. This was indicated by model 3, the mediation showing that gender non-conformity attitudes' effect on behaviour was fully mediated by homosexuality gender role violation attitudes. Lastly, the Modern Homonegativity Scale was identified as a significant predictor reducing positive behaviour. As well as this, the relationship between gender beliefs, traditional homonegativity and negative behaviour was supported. The results highlight differences in behavioural outcome between traditional and modern homonegativity, pointing future research towards intervention that tackles them differently.

4

General Discussion

General Discussion

Effect of Gender Role Beliefs and Gender Presentation

This body of work aimed to investigate the impact of negative attitude towards gender presentation, on lesbian women. Previous literature has argued that sexuality and gender non-conformity are connected **(**Freeman et al,, 2010), with negative attitudes towards gender non-conformity leading to increased prejudice towards lesbians (Lick & Johnson, 2014). Furthermore, research has argued that heterosexual participants would discriminate against sexual minorities due to their gender non-conforming appearance and behaviour (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009b). Or that they may discriminate against homosexual individuals more, if they were gender non-conforming (Buijs et al,, 2011). To investigate the impact of gender non-conforming appearance on negative attitudes and behaviour towards women, this work approached gender roles and appearance as a possible cause, as well as a variable mediating the effect that attitudes have on behaviour. This was in order to clarify the possible connection between sexuality and gender role attitude. As well as to detail the complexity of the impact of gender-related beliefs on homonegativity.

Comparison of Behaviour based on Gender

In the first study, gender non-conformity was a factor affecting all negative behaviours; active harm, passive harm, passive facilitation and social distancing. All but social distancing had individual main effects, further highlighting the argument that prejudice driven by gendered presentation stands as an independent causational factor in negative societal and individual behaviour. Supporting previous research which had considered the individual impact of attitudes towards gendered presentation (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a; Blashill & Powlishta, 2009b), such work using the appearance subscale of the Gender Role Violation

Questionnaire (Doyle et al,, 2015). The study this measure derives from states that gender role attitudes can be towards homosexuality and gender non-conformity, arguing of their individual effects (Doyle et al,, 2015). However, when this measurement was used in the second study, the findings were contradictory to what was gathered from the first study. The second study showed that the direct effect of negative attitudes towards masculine appearance, on discriminatory behaviour, was better explained through the addition of negative attitudes towards lesbian homosexuality. Suggesting that, contrary to the results of study 1, attitudes towards sexuality and gender presentation as gender role violations act in combination in their effect on negative behaviour towards lesbians. This supports previous research suggesting that negative evaluation of gender-nonconforming appearance increases sexual prejudice (Lick & Johnson, 2014) and that this relationship results in negative behaviour (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

However despite conflicting findings about how negative attitudes towards gender non-conformity and sexuality operate in relation to one and another, results from both studies consistently show that both negative attitudes to gender presentation and homosexuality increase negative behaviour towards lesbians. Therefore, research into behaviour not considerate of gender presentation, may be missing a key influential element. Meta-analysis of methods in reducing sexual prejudice has already identified gaps in research in relation to both lesbians and measurement of behaviour. As respectively, only 1% and 16% of studies included these factors (Bartos et al,, 2014). Further gaps may have been identified by this thesis, as results suggest a key role of gender presentation or gender role attitude in relation to anti-lesbian behaviour. Going forward, future research could review several forms of explicit and subtle gender prejudice attitudes in relation to negative behaviour towards lesbians, to further explore the effect that prejudice based in gender has on anti-gay behaviour.

Modern Homonegative Attitudes

Comparison from both studies on the usefulness of the Modern Homonegativity Scale emphasise its relevance to activism. For example, in the first study conclusions were drawn highlighting potential heterosexual privilege awareness, shown through applying homonegative measurements to heterosexual groups. The link between the Modern Homonegativity Scale and activist beliefs is furthered when taken in conjunction with the second study's findings, supporting that modern homonegative attitudes were the most significant predictor of reducing positive behaviour. Conclusions were drawn that the positive behavioural measure and Modern Homonegativity Scale included items regarding the support of homosexual rights. For example the need for, or willingness to attend gay pride, an activist event (Huic et al,, 2016; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Therefore arguments can be made that the modern homonegativity scale potentially is an attitudinal measure for activism, and the positivity scale as behavioural activism. It should therefore be considered to what degree the Modern Homonegativity Scale is tapping into homonegative attitudes, and to what affect dislike or disapproval of activism has on this measure of modern homonegativity. In future work, homonegative outcomes that are controlled for attitude towards activism would yield interesting results. This may be an avenue of interest within understanding modern manifestations of homonegativity going forward. For example, previous research has found that resistance of heteronormative beliefs are associated with activism engagement (Montgomery & Stewart, 2012), therefore the relationships between modern homonegativity, heteronormative attitudes and activism engagement should be explored.

Heteronormativity

Evaluation of the theory of heteronormativity was conducted differently between the two studies, to examine support for both the theoretical assumptions and empirical scale. Study 1 provided conclusions based on heteronormative theory, addressing previous research regarding enforcement of acceptable gender binary and heterosexual norms (Kitzinger, 2005; Nielsen et al,, 2000). The results supported previous literature arguing that conforming groups are given privilege (Brickell, 2001), whereas those who do not conform are punished (Yep, 2003). As for example, study 1 results showed that participants believed that society would act positively towards the conditions conforming to gender binary standards i.e.: being feminine presenting and heterosexual.

The results also supported conclusions drawn in recent research that related higher levels of negative behaviour towards homosexuals than heterosexuals, to be down to heteronormative society (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012). For example, in study 1, participants believed society would act with negative behaviour towards homosexual conditions more than heterosexual conditions. Additionally, in study 2 the Heteronormativity scale (Habarth, 2015) was used to evaluate the relationship that heteronormative attitudes have with other prejudicial attitudes, in relation to behavioural outcome. The heteronormative scale increased attitudes regarding lesbian relationships as gender role violations, and social distancing behaviour towards lesbians. Therefore, providing evidence supporting qualitative analysis which suggested that heteronormative beliefs may act as a pre-cursor towards sexuality and gender non-conformity prejudice (Ward & Schneider, 2009) and prejudicial behaviour (Kitzinger 2005; Nixon 2010). Therefore in combination, both studies provide theoretical and empirical support towards heteronormative beliefs as a societally enforced set of assumptions, impacting negative attitudes and behaviour towards lesbians. Further research should therefore consider this theory in relation to other homosexual groups.

Furthermore, some evidence could suggest heteronormativity is not only a subject relevant to homosexuality equality, but gendered prejudice. Study 1 provided theoretical support towards this, as results showed main effects of gender non-conforming presentation resulted in more negative behaviour. This was irrespective of sexuality, for example social distancing scores revealed an interaction wherein masculine presenting heterosexual and homosexual women were treated similarly. Previous research has suggested that gender binary beliefs increase prejudice and negativity towards gender non-conforming individuals (Tolman, 2006). As a core aspect of heteronormative beliefs (Tolman, 2006), bigenderism heteronormative expectations may therefore have application within gendered prejudice.

Bigenderism assumes that male and female sex predict opposing dimensions of men and women, who should act differently according to their roles. (Gilbert, 2009). The impact of heteronormative bigenderism assumptions impacting on gender roles was empirically supported in study 2. Results showed a relationship between heteronormative attitudes, increasing attitudes towards gender roles. Further research should explore the effect of heteronormative assumptions on both gender non-conforming appearance and gender roles. For example, applying research such as the work of Gordon & Meyer (2007), which identified gender non-conformity prejudice as differential treatment or negative attitude based in gender non-conforming expression. As gender roles effect both men and women (Gilbert, 2009) and although applied towards homonegativity, negativity towards gender is an issue of itself (Cramwinckel et al,, 2018), which the theory of heteronormativity could be applied too. Future research could investigate if heteronormative beliefs increase gender non-conformity prejudice or gender role attitudes for heterosexual targets, exploring the wider applicability of this theory.

Social Distancing

The role of social distancing was a key element to the body of this work, shown to be both an outcome and then predictor of further discriminatory behaviour. The first study provided evidence of social distancing as a negative consequence, and study 2 furthered this knowledge in relation to a reduction in positive behaviour. The combination of these results develop previous literature which had primarily evidenced social distancing in relation to its predictive power on homonegative attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006; Smith et al,, 2009). Research regarding the predictive effect of social distancing between heterosexual and homosexuals has focused on Intergroup Contact theory and the effect that positive conditions of close contact has on reducing negative attitudes towards outgroups (Allport, 1954). To address this social distancing scale was the chosen as it replicates the parameters of Allports Contact theory, due to measuring openness towards association (Allport, 1954). However, the negative relationships in both studies between social distancing preference and prejudicial attitudes or behaviour could not provide evidence towards this theory. Rather, they approach contact from a different perspective, identifying social distancing as a negative factor effected by gender presentation and gender role attitudes. As well as this, social distancing was a variable that reduced positive behaviour. As a different perspective, this work supports the conceptualisation of social distance as an act of covert avoidance (Morrison & Morrison, 2002), an act of subtle discrimination (Williams, 1964). This expands the knowledge of contact between homosexuals and heterosexuals in describing negative associations with non-association. As previously discussed, subtle forms of prejudice are integral to research on prejudice, with arguments being made that homonegative attitudes are transforming to more modern and subtle formations (Dovidio & Gartner, 2004; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). This research further shows this, as social distancing was a consistent variable and the results from

both studies also reinforce how multidirectional social distancing is in relationship to homonegative attitudes and behaviour. For example, study two evidenced that gender based homonegativity attitudes resulted in a reduction of positive behaviour due to social distancing. This is of particular interest as attitudes towards lesbian relationships as a violation of gender roles, is a lesbian specific attitude based in gender prejudice. Therefore, it evidences social distancing as a result of gender role attitudes, which have application to many other groups (Gilbert, 2009) as previously discussed. Further research into sexual orientation and gendered prejudice may therefore find this variable of interest to other gender role relationships.

Scope and Future Research

Recommendations for future research on lesbians have been mentioned throughout this chapter, based on findings which identified attitudes towards gender as impactful on both homonegative attitudes and behaviour. For specificity's sake, this work was primarily only applicable to lesbians, however comparable results in other homosexual groups should be explored. As, not only are gender role expectations applicable to both men and women (Gilbert, 2009; Tolman, 2006) but attitudes towards bisexuality differ to other homosexual groups (Worthen, 2013), therefore different effects of gender non-conformity may be found. Transgender prejudice are highly applicable to future areas of study following on from this research, in line with the recommendation for research to study intersectional identities (Worthen, 2013). Vignettes in study 1 deliberately didn't reference if the woman described was cis or transgender, but this may affect results. Both studies showed that attitudes towards gender were impactful on negative behaviour, and research has shown that gender non-conformity within transgendered appearance is associated with violence (Gordon & Meyer,

2007). Therefore higher levels of negative behaviour may be associated with transgender lesbians, due to both gender non-conformity and homosexuality. Furthermore, investigation into the effect of gender related prejudice could be explored, to see if transgender prejudice may affect attitudes towards gender non-conformity, and act as an additional factor for non cis lesbians.

Conclusions

This body of work provides a critical analysis of the complex effect of gender identity prejudice and gender role beliefs on homonegative attitudes and behaviour. Firstly, main effects of gender identity identified prejudice effects on lesbians, increasing negative behaviour. The modern homonegativity scale was identified to have potential benefits as investigating privilege awareness or attitudes about activism. The heteronormativity scale was defended as having effect on attitudes towards lesbians, as well as two behavioural outcomes, providing the first evidence of the mediation based relationships present within heteronormativity. The two studies defended both gender non-conforming presentation and gender role prejudicial attitude as having a role in homonegativity, although results were complex. This therefore indirectly supports the theory of heteronormativity, and further research on this subject is required. Overall analysis of the trends of the effect of gender on homonegative attitudes and behaviour shows that whether it be gender non-conforming presentation or gender role prejudice, gender binary beliefs have impact on behaviours towards lesbians.

References

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice* (25th ed.). New York; Addison-Wesley, 1979

Anderson, K. J., & Kanner, M. (2011). Inventing a gay agenda: Students' perceptions of lesbian and gay Professors. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 41*(6), 1538-1564. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00757.x

Anderssen, N. (2002). Does contact with lesbians and gays lead to friendlier attitudes? A two year longitudinal study. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 12*(2), 124-136. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.665

Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2015). Detecting and experiencing prejudice: New answers to old questions. *Advances in experimental social psychology* 25(1), 139-219. https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.aesp.2015.02.001

Bartoş, S. E., Berger, I., & Hegarty, P. (2014). Interventions to reduce sexual prejudice: A study-space analysis and meta-analytic review. *The Journal of Sex Research, 51*(4), 363-382. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2013.871625

Basow, S. A., & Johnson, K. (2000). Predictors of homophobia in female college students. *Sex Roles, 42*(5-6), 391-404. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1007098221316

Bieschke, K. J., & Matthews, C. (1996). Career counselor attitudes and behaviors toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual clients. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 48*(2), 243-255. https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1996.0021

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009a). Gay stereotypes: The use of sexual orientation as a cue for gender-related attributes. *Sex Roles, 61*(11-12), 783-793. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9684-7

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009b). The impact of sexual orientation and gender role on evaluations of men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(2), 160. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014583

Bostwick, W. B., Boyd, C. J., Hughes, T. L., West, B. T., & McCabe, S. E. (2014). Discrimination and mental health among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 84*(1), 35-45. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0098851

Brambilla, M., Carnaghi, A., & Ravenna, M. (2011). Status and cooperation shape lesbian stereotypes. *Social Psychology, 42*(2), 101-110. http://dx.doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000054

Brickell, C. (2001). Whose special treatment? Heterosexism and the problems with liberalism. *Sexualities, 4*(2), 211-235. https://doi.org/10.1177/136346001004002006

Brown, M. J., & Henriquez, E. (2008). Socio-demographic predictors of attitudes towards gays and lesbians. *Individual Differences Research, 6*(3), 193-202.

Buijs, L., Hekma, G., & Duyvendak, J. W. (2011). 'As long as they keep away from me': The paradox of antigay violence in a gay-friendly country. *Sexualities, 14*(6), 632-652. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460711422304

Cerny, J. A., & Polyson, J. (1984). Changing homonegative attitudes. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 2*(4), 366-371. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.1984.2.4.366

Clarke, V., & Spence, K. (2013). ‘I am who I am’? Navigating norms and the importance of authenticity in lesbian and bisexual women's accounts of their appearance practices. *Psychology & Sexuality, 4*(1), 25-33. https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2013.748240

Collier, K. L., Bos, H. M., & Sandfort, T. G. (2012). Intergroup contact, attitudes toward homosexuality, and the role of acceptance of gender non-conformity in young adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence, 35*(4), 899-907. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.12.010

Cramwinckel, F. M., der Toorn, J., & Scheepers, D. T. (2018). Interventions to reduce blatant and subtle sexual Orientation-and gender identity prejudice (SOGIP): Current knowledge and future directions. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 12*(1), 183-217. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12044

Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*(4), 631. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.631

Cunningham, G. B., & Melton, E. N. (2013). The moderating effects of contact with lesbian and gay friends on the relationships among religious fundamentalism, sexism, and sexual prejudice. *Journal of Sex Research, 50*(3-4), 401-408. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2011.648029

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 36(1),* 1-56. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412956253.n52

Doyle, C. M., Rees, A. M., & Titus, T. L. (2015). Perceptions of same-sex relationships and marriage as gender role violations: An examination of gendered expectations (sexism).

Journal of Homosexuality, *62*(11), 1576-1598. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1073038

Dworkin, E. R., Gilmore, A. K., Bedard-Gilligan, M., Lehavot, K., Guttmannova, K., & Kaysen, D. (2018). Predicting PTSD severity from experiences of trauma and heterosexism in lesbian and bisexual women: A longitudinal study of cognitive mediators. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *65*(3), 324. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000287

Fingerhut, A. W. (2011). Straight allies: What predicts heterosexuals' alliance with the LGBT community? 1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *41*(9), 2230-2248. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00807.x

Freeman, J. B., Johnson, K. L., Ambady, N., & Rule, N. O. (2010). Sexual orientation perception involves gendered facial cues. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *36*(10), 1318-1331. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210378755

Freud, S. (1975). A case of hysteria: Three essays on sexuality and other works. In J. Strachey (Ed. & Trans.), The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud (Vol. 7). London: Hogarth Press. (Original work published 1905)

Frost, D. M., Lehavot, K., & Meyer, I. H. (2015). Minority stress and physical health among sexual minority individuals. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 38*(1), 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10865-013-9523-8

Geiger, W., Harwood, J., & Hummert, M. (2006). College students' multiple stereotypes of lesbians. Journal of Homosexuality, 51(3), 165-182. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/j082v51n03_08

Goodman, M. B., & Moradi, B. (2008). Attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian and gay persons: Critical correlates and mediated relations. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(3), 371. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.3.371

Gordon, A. R., & Meyer, I. H. (2007). Gender nonconformity as a target of prejudice, discrimination, and violence against LGB individuals. *Journal of LGBT Health Research, 3*(3), 55-71. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.3.371

Greene, B. (2007). Delivering ethical psychological services to lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients. In K. J. Bieschke, R. M. Perez, & K. A. Debord (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender clients (pp. 181 – 199).* Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Habarth, J. (2015). Development of the heteronormative attitudes and beliefs scale. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 6(2), 166-188. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2013.876444

Hayes, A. F. (2018). PROCESS macro for SPSS [Computer software]. Columbus OH, Andrew F. Hayes.

Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., Halliwell, E., & Malson, H. (2013). Visible lesbians and invisible bisexuals: Appearance and visual identities among bisexual women. *Women's Studies International Forum* 40(1), 172-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.07.015

Herek, G. M. (1988). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: Correlates and gender differences. *Journal of Sex Research*, 25(4), 451-477. doi: 10.1080/00224498809551476

Herek, G. M. (2000a). Sexual Prejudice and gender: Do heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men differ? *Journal of Social Issues, 56*(2), 251-266. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00164

Herek, G. M. (2000b). The psychology of sexual prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 9*(1), 19-22. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.00051

Herek, G. M., & Capitanio, J. P. (1996). "Some of my best friends" intergroup contact, concealable stigma, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*(4), 412-424. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224499909552007

Herek, G. M., & McLemore, K. A. (2013). Sexual prejudice. *Annual Review of Psychology, 64*, 309-333. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-113011-143826

Hicks, G. R., & Lee, T. (2006). Public attitudes toward gays and lesbians: Trends and predictors. *Journal of Homosexuality, 51*(2), 57-77. https://doi.org/10.1300/j082v51n02_04

Hirai, M., Dolma, S., Popan, J. R., & Winkel, M. H. (2018). Machismo predicts prejudice toward lesbian and gay individuals: Testing a mediating role of contact. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy, 15*(4), 497-503. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-017-0308-7

Huic, A., Jelic, M., & Kamenov, Z. (2016). What predicts the willingness of heterosexual persons to behave in a positive or negative manner towards homosexual persons? *Criminology and Social Integration Journal*, 23(2), 110 – 141. Retrieved from: https://hrcak.srce.hr/162562

Jäckle, S., & Wenzelburger, G. (2014). Religion, religiosity, and the attitudes toward homosexuality—A multilevel analysis of 79 countries. Journal of Homosexuality, 62(2), 207-241. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2014.969071

Jewell, L. M., McCutcheon, J. M., Harriman, R. L., & Morrison, M. A. (2012). It's like a bunch of mosquitoes coming at you...": Exploring the ubiquitous nature of subtle discrimination and its implications for the everyday experiences of LGB individuals. In T. G. Morrison, M. A. Morrison, M. A Carrigan & D. T McDermott (Eds.), *Sexual Minority Research in the New Millennium (pp.* 157-186). New York: Nova Science Publishers

Katz-Wise, S. L., & Hyde, J. S. (2012). Victimization experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Sex Research, 49*(2-3), 142-167. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2011.637247

Kite, M. & Deaux, K. (1987). Gender belief systems: Homosexuality and the implicit inversion theory. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 11(1), 83-96. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00776.x

Kitzinger, C. (1987). *The social construction of lesbianism.* London: Sage.

Krolikowski, A. M., Rinella, M., & Ratcliff, J. J. (2016). The influence of the expression of subtle and blatant sexual prejudice on personal prejudice and identification with the expresser. *Journal of Homosexuality, 63*(2), 228-249. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1083776

Laner, M. R., & Laner, R. H. (1980). Sexual preference or personal style? Why lesbians are disliked. *Journal of Homosexuality, 5*(4), 339-356. https://doi.org/10.1300/j082v05n04_01

Lee, I., & Crawford, M. (2007). Lesbians and bisexual women in the eyes of scientific psychology. *Feminism & Psychology*, *17*(1), 109-127. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959353507073096

Lehavot, K. & Lambert, A. (2007). Toward a greater understanding of antigay prejudice: On the role of sexual orientation and gender role violation. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology,* 29(3), 279-292. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01973530701503390

Levitt, H. M., & Hiestand, K. R. (2005). Gender within lesbian sexuality: Butch and femme perspectives. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology, 18*(1), 39-51. https://doi.org/10.1080/10720530590523062

Levitt, H. M., & Horne, S. G. (2002). Explorations of lesbian-queer genders: Butch, femme, androgynous or "other". *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 6*(2), 25-39. https://doi.org/10.1300/j155v06n02_05

Liben, L., & Bigler, R. (2002). *The developmental course of gender differentiation* (1st ed.). Boston, MA: Blackwell.

Lick, D. J., & Johnson, K. L. (2013). Fluency of visual processing explains prejudiced evaluations following categorization of concealable identities. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* 49(3), 419, 425. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2013.01.001

Lick, D. J., & Johnson, K. L. (2014). Perceptual underpinnings of antigay prejudice: Negative evaluations of sexual minority women arise on the basis of gendered facial features.

Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 40(9), 1178-1192. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167214538288

Link, B., Cullen, F., Frank, J., & Wozniak, J. (1987). The social rejection of former mental patients: Understanding why labels matter. *American Journal of* Sociology, *92*(6), 1461-1500. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/228672

Loehr, A., Doan, L., & Miller, L. R. (2015). The role of selection effects in the contact hypothesis: Results from a US national survey on sexual prejudice. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 44*(8), 2111-2123. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0483-7

Matthews, C. R., Selvidge, M. M., & Fisher, K. (2005). Addictions counselors' attitudes and behaviors toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual clients. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 83*(1), 57-65. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2005.tb00580.x

Massey, S. G. (2009). Polymorphous prejudice: Liberating the measurement of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality, 56*(2), 147-172. doi: 10.1080/00918360802623131.

McDermott, D. T., & Blair, K. L. (2012). 'What's it like on your side of the pond?': A cross-cultural comparison of modern and old-fashioned homonegativity between north American and European samples. *Psychology & Sexuality, 3*(3), 277-296. https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2012.700032

McHugh, M. C., & Frieze, I. H. (1997). The measurement of gender-role attitudes. A review and commentary. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(1), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00097.x

Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*(5), 674. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674

Montgomery, S. A., & Stewart, A. J. (2012). Privileged allies in lesbian and gay rights activism: Gender, generation, and resistance to heteronormativity. *Journal of Social Issues, 68*(1), 162-177. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2012.01742.x

Morrison, M. A., & Morrison, T. G. (2002). Development and validation of a scale measuring modern prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 43(2), 15-37. http://dx.doi.org/10.13072/midss.395

Morrison, M. A., & Morrison, T. G. (2011). Sexual orientation bias toward gay men and lesbian women: Modern homonegative attitudes and their association with discriminatory behavioral intentions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *41*(11), 2573-2599. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00838.x

Newman, B. (2007). College students' attitudes about lesbians: What difference does 16 years make?. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 52(3-4), 249-265. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/j082v52n03_12

Nierman, A. J., Thompson, S. C., Bryan, A., & Mahaffey, A. L. (2007). Gender role beliefs and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in Chile and the US. *Sex Roles, 57*(1-2), 61-67. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9197-1

Nixon, D. (2010). Discrimination, performance and recuperation: How teachers and pupils challenge and recover discourses of sexualities in schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26*(2), 145-151. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2009.05.003

Parrott, D. J., & Gallagher, K. E. (2008). What accounts for heterosexual women's negative emotional responses to lesbians?: Examination of traditional gender role beliefs and sexual prejudice. *Sex Roles, 59*(3-4), 229-239. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9436-0

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Poteat, V. P. (2015). Individual psychological factors and complex interpersonal conditions that predict LGBT-affirming behavior. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 44*(8), 1494-1507. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0257-5

Poteat, V. P., & Vecho, O. (2016). Who intervenes against homophobic behavior? Attributes that distinguish active bystanders. *Journal of School Psychology, 54(1)*, 17-28. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2015.10.002

Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5*(4), 631-660. https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2003.0079

Rivers, I., & Cowie, H. (2006). Bullying and homophobia in UK schools: A perspective on factors affecting resilience and recovery. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Issues in Education, 3*(4), 11-43. https://doi.org/10.1300/j367v03n04_03

Romero, D. H., Morera, O. F., & Wiebe, J. S. (2015). Assessing the gender invariance of the modern homonegativity scale. *Journal of Homosexuality, 62*(11), 1539-1559. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1073034

Rye, B., & Meaney, G. J. (2010). Measuring homonegativity: A psychometric analysis. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 42*(3), 158. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018237

Schope, R. D., & Eliason, M. J. (2000). Thinking versus acting: Assessing the relationship between heterosexual attitudes and behaviors toward homosexuals. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 11*(4), 69-92. https://doi.org/10.1300/j041v11n04_04

Silverschanz, P., Cortina, L. M., Konik, J., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Slurs, snubs, and queer jokes: Incidence and impact of heterosexist harassment in academia. *Sex Roles, 58*(3-4), 179-191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9329-7

Simon, A. (1995). Some correlates of individuals' attitudes toward lesbians. *Journal of Homosexuality, 29*(1), 89-103. https://doi.org/10.1300/j082v29n01_05

Simoni, J. M. (1996). Pathways to prejudice: Predicting students' heterosexist attitudes with demographics, self-esteem, and contact with lesbians and gay men. *Journal of College Student Development, 37(1), 68 - 78*

Smith, S. J., Axelton, A. M., & Saucier, D. A. (2009). The effects of contact on sexual prejudice: A meta-analysis. *Sex Roles, 61*(3-4), 178-191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9627-3

Swim, J. K., Mallett, R., Russo-Devosa, Y., & Stangor, C. (2005). Judgments of sexism: A comparison of the subtlety of sexism measures and sources of variability in judgments of sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29(4), 406–411. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00240.x

Swim, J., Ferguson, M., & Hyers, L. (1999). Avoiding stigma by association: Subtle prejudice against lesbians in the form of social distancing. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 21(1), 61-68. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15324834basp2101_6

Vaughn, A. A., Teeters, S. A., Sadler, M. S., & Cronan, S. B. (2017). Stereotypes, emotions, and behaviors toward lesbians, gay men, bisexual women, and bisexual men. *Journal of Homosexuality, 64*(13), 1890-1911. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1273718

Webb, T. L., & Sheeran, P. (2006). Does changing behavioral intentions engender behavior change? A meta-analysis of the experimental evidence. *Psychological Bulletin, 132*(2), 249. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.2.249

Weinberg, G. H. (1972). *Society and the healthy homosexual*. Oxford, England: Anchor.

Whitley, B. E. (2001). Gender-role variables and attitudes toward homosexuality. *Sex Roles, 45*(11-12), 691-721. https://doi.org/10.1037/e413802005-185

Whitley, B. E., & Ægisdóttir, S. (2000). The gender belief system, authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles, 42*(11-12), 947-967. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1007026016001

Wilkinson, W. W. (2006). Exploring heterosexual women's anti-lesbian attitudes. *Journal of Homosexuality, 51*(2), 139-155. https://doi.org/10.1300/j082v51n02_08

Williams, R. M. (1964). *Strangers next door: Ethnic relations in American communities.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wilson, E. (2003). *Adorned in dreams: Fashion and modernity.* London: IB Tauris.

Worthen, M. (2013). An argument for separate analyses of attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual men, bisexual women, mtf and ftm transgender individuals. *Sex Roles*, *68*(11-12), 703-723. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0155-1

Worthen, M. G., Tanzilli, A., Caristo, C., & Lingiardi, V. (2018). Social contact, social distancing, and attitudes toward LGT individuals: A cross-cultural study of college students in the United States, Italy, and Spain. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 22(1), 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2018.1519302

Wyss, S. E. (2004). 'This was my hell': The violence experienced by gender non-conforming youth in US high schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 17*(5), 709-730. https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839042000253676

Yep, G. A. (2003). The violence of heteronormativity in communication studies: Notes on injury, healing, and queer world-making. *Journal of Homosexuality, 45*(2-4), 11-59. doi: 10.1300/J082v45n02_02

Appendix

A. Study 1 questionnaires

Modern Homonegativity Scale – Lesbian Women. -Morrison, M. A., & Morrison, T. G. (2002).

In this measure participants are presented with a list of statements, and then given a 5-point Likert scale to rate their agreement:

Example item:

Question 1)

Rachel would be ridiculous for asking universities to provide degrees based on…

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
Gender	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual orientation	1	2	3	4	5

Question 12)

Rachel has all the rights she needs in terms of her…

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
Gender	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual orientation	1	2	3	4	5

	Original item	**Proposed change**
1	The notion of universities providing degrees in gay and lesbian studies is ridiculous	Rachel would be ridiculous for asking universities to provide degrees based on…
2	Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.*	Rachel is ridiculous for taking pride in her…
3	Lesbian women should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.*	Rachel tends to shove her lifestyle down other people's throats in regards to her...
4	Lesbian women seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same	Rachel tends to focus on the ways that she differs and ignore the ways in which she is the same, in respect to people's…
5	Many lesbian women use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special rights and privileges	Rachel tends to try to obtain special rights and privileges using her…

6	Lesbian women have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights	Rachel is a person that is far too confrontational when demanding equal rights in terms of her…
7	Lesbian women who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage.* (R)	N/A
8	In today's tough economic times, Canadians' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support lesbian organizations	Tax money shouldn't be used to support organizations associated with Rachel's…
9	If lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.*	If Rachel wants to be treated like everyone else she needs to stop making a fuss about her…
10	Lesbians should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.	Rather than simply getting on with her life, Rachel tends to complain about the way minorities are treated in society. For example minority groups based on…
11	Lesbian women no longer need to protest for equal rights	Rachel no longer needs to protest for equal rights in terms of her…
12	Lesbian women have all the rights they need.	Rachel has all the rights she needs in terms of her…

Social distance measure - Link, B., Cullen, F., Frank, J., & Wozniak, J. (1987).

0: definitely willing, 1: probably willing, 2: probably unwilling, 3: definitely unwilling

How would you feel about renting a room in your home to someone like Rachel?

How about as a worker on the same job as someone like Rachel?

How would you feel having someone like Rachel as a neighbour?

How about as the caretaker of your children for a couple of hours?

How about having your children marry someone like Rachel?

How would you feel about introducing Rachel to a young woman you are friendly with?

How would you feel about recommending someone like Rachel for a job working for a friend of yours?

BIAS map: behavioural scale - Cuddy, A., Fiske, S., & Glick, P. (2007).

1 not at all, 2 slightly, 3 neither, 4 somewhat, 5 extremely

In general, do people in the UK tend to help people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to protect people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to fight people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to attack people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to cooperate with people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to associate with people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to exclude people like Rachel?

In general, do people in the UK tend to demean people like Rachel?

B. Vignettes

Homosexual condition vignette. (Masculine gender identity = spiked hair & boyish style. Feminine gender identity = long brown hair & girlish style).

Rachel is a student and has been attending university for two years. She has short spiked hair/long brown hair, and a boyish/girlish style. At the university Rachel is a member of the netball and the free speech society where she has several friends. Later in the day she plans to go study at her favourite coffee shop. She is looking forward to meeting Mary there who she has been dating for a year. Rachel is happy with how their relationship is going and that night they are planning to go for dinner and then drinks at their favourite bar.

Heterosexual condition vignette. (Masculine gender identity = spiked hair & boyish style. Feminine gender identity = long brown hair & girlish style).

Rachel is a student and has been attending university for two years. She has short spiked hair/long brown hair, and a boyish/girlish style. At the university Rachel is a member of the netball and the free speech society where she has several friends. Later in the day she plans to go study at her favourite coffee shop. She is looking forward to meeting Harry there who she has been dating for a year. Rachel is happy with how their relationship is going and that night they are planning to go for dinner and then drinks at their favourite bar.

C. Piloting Answers

Four questions were answered. Each participant read one of the 4 vignettes.

1. What details do you gather from the story?
2. Is the story life like?

3. Do you find that the story is complex?
4. Can you describe what information you paid most attention too?

Participant 1:

1. The story is about a student called Rachel. It describes her appearance as girlish and gives some detail into her interests such as her involvement in the free speech society and netball club. It then describes that she is going to meet her boyfriend in a coffee shop, go for some food and drinks in the evening and that she is looking forward to it. It also explains how she is happy with how their relationship is going.
2. I think the concept is simple enough and I am easily able to hold the information while answering the questions.
3. It does seem life like but doesn't outline anything negative or stressful and usually people have at least one issue in their life at one time, it might seem a bit more realistic to give some insight into that - maybe to say she was very busy at university or something similar.
4. The part where it describes that she is happy with how the relationship with Harry is going – it makes me intrigued as to what their relationship is like.

Participant 2:

1. The details I have gathered are; Rachel has been at university for two years, she is part of the free speech society as well as netball and has a lot of friends. She is studying in a coffee shop later she is meeting her partner Mary there. She is happy in her relationship.
2. Yes it's simple enough that I could retain a lot of information from the text while answering the questions.
3. Yes the story is lifelike.
4. I paid most attention to Rachel's education as it was mostly mentioned. The time she has been at university and her studying. - secondly it was her relationship and how happy she is with Mary.

Participant 3:

1. Rachel is off to see her Partner
2. Yes
3. No
4. That Rachel is off to see her Partner who she is happy to be in a relationship

Participant 4:

1. 1. The details that I got from the story was who the girl is as a person, she was well described. That's all I could pull from it.
2. It's definitely simple enough to hold info.
3. I would say it's life like.
4. I do not think there was a part I paid the most attention to as to me there wasn't something major to stand out to me

D. Standardised instructions

All opinions welcome. I would like to invite you to participate in research about the attitudes held about women. As thanks for your participation you could win a prize of £25. Your data will be fully anonymous and this study is for an MSc by research. Please do not participate if you are under 18 years of age. Please click the link to read in more detail about the study and your rights as a potential participant.

E. **Brief and introduction for both studies.**
Differences between study 1 and 2 are shown in bold and italicised.

Welcome to the study and thank you for considering being a participant.

My name is Natasha and I am conducting this research as part of an MSc by research course at the University of Lincoln. This research investigates attitudes towards women and is being supervised by Dr Stefano Belli and Dr Patrick Hylton.

Please note participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you can stop at any time.

Study 1:

You will be presented with a short story about a character attending university, and answer questions on your beliefs about characteristics they may have. You will also be asked about how the UK perceives the character, and how you would interact with a person similar to the character. There are no wrong answers and all opinions are valued.

Study 2:

You will be answering a series of questionnaires, some which express attitudes of a sensitive nature. Some questionnaires are based on societal attitudes, others on your personal views. There are no wrong answers and all opinions are valued.

Any data you provide will be stored securely by the University of Lincoln and used in a completely confidential manner. The results of this study will be analysed and potentially written up for publication. The answers you provide will be identifiable only by your participant number, which does not give away information about yourself, and will be seen only by myself and my supervisor. This number protects your anonymity and allows you to withdraw your data at any given point within 2 weeks of completing the study. A reason for wanting to withdraw does not need to be given, simply please email the Ethics Committee at soprec@lincoln.ac.uk with your participant number and the title of the study to be removed from the study.

As thanks for taking part you can enter yourself into a prize draw to win a gift card of £25. Please do this at the end of the study. The winner will be drawn at random and contacted once data collection has finished for this study. Participation is optional and your anonymity and participant rights will not be affected.

There is no perceived risk in taking part in this study, however if you have any questions or queries my supervisor and I can be contacted. My email is ndale@lincoln.ac.uk and my supervisors is sbelli@lincoln.ac.uk. The information shared does not represent the beliefs of myself or the other researchers involved.

Please complete the study at your own pace. It is estimated to take ***(study 1:*** **ten minutes.** ***Study two:*** **fifteen minutes*)*** depending on your reading speed and consideration of questions. You are reminded there are no wrong answers as this study is about attitudes, and going with your initial reaction is a good method for how long you should deliberate over each question.

F. Consent form

·I confirm that I am aged 18 or over and that I have read and understand the information above pertaining to this study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

· I understand that my participation is voluntary and I understand that I can withdraw my data at any point up until two weeks after completing the study

· I understand that data will be kept confidential and securely and will be anonymised throughout.

· I understand if I have any questions or concerns, that I can contact the researcher supervisor using the contact details given.

By proceeding with participation I am confirming that I wish to take part in this study and confirm that I agree to all the above statements.

To begin the study, create a participant number. Remember this makes your data anonymous, and its only purpose is so that you can withdraw your data if you wish.

Participant number: (a parents initials and date (day:month). For example: LD2510)

G. Ethical approval

SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM

FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

Tick relevant boxes: ☐ **STAFF Project** **x POSTGRADUATE Project** ☐ **TRACK A**

☐ **UNDERGRADUATE Project** **x TRACK B**

☐ **ROUTINE EXTENSION TO STUDY**

Title Of Project: Gender roles, as important as first thought? Implications on attitudes and behaviours towards lesbian women

Name of researcher(s) Natasha Dale

Name of supervisor (for student research) Stefano Belli Date

		YES	NO	N/A
1	Will you describe the main procedures to participants in advance, so that they are informed in advance about what to expect?	x		
2	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	x		
3	Will you obtain written consent for participation?	x		
4	If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed / taped?			x
5	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw themselves or their data from the research at any time, that no reason needs to be given, and that they can do so without losing any rewards (if applicable)?	x		
6	Will you give participants the option of declining to give information they do not want to give (e.g., not filling out all questions in a questionnaire)?	x		
7	Will you tell participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality, and stored securely (for 7 years at the minimum) and that, if published, it will not be identifiable as theirs?	x		
8	Will you debrief participants at the end of their participation (i.e. give them a brief explanation of the study)?	x		

If you have ticked **No** to any of Q1-8, but have **ticked box A** overleaf, please give any explanation on a separate sheet. (Note: N/A = not applicable)

		YES	NO	N/A
9	Will your project involve deliberately misleading participants in any way?		x	
10	Is there a realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort? If **Yes,** give details on a separate sheet and state what you will tell them to do if they should experience any problems (e.g. who they can contact for help).		x	

If you have ticked **Yes** to 9 or 10 you should normally **tick box B** overleaf; if not, please give a full explanation on a separate sheet.

			YES	NO	N/A
11	Do participants fall into any of the following special groups? If they do, please refer to the appropriate BPS guidelines, and **tick box B** overleaf. **Please note that you may also need to gain satisfactory CRB clearance or equivalent for overseas participants.**	School children (under 18 years of age)		x	
		People with learning or communication difficulties		x	
		Patients		x	
		Those at risk of psychological distress or otherwise vulnerable		x	
		People in custody		x	
		People engaged in illegal activities (e.g. drug taking)		x	

here is an obligation on the lead researcher to bring to the attention of the School's Ethics Committee projects with ethical implications not clearly covered by the above checklist.

PLEASE TICK **EITHER** BOX A or BOX B BELOW AND **PROVIDE THE DETAILS REQUIRED** IN SUPPORT OF YOUR APPLICATION, THEN SIGN THE FORM.

Please tick:

A. I consider that this project has **no** significant ethical implications to be brought before the Departmental Ethics Committee.	

In less than 150 words, provide details of the study including the rational, the number and type of participants, methods and tests to be used (i.e. the procedure).

This form (and any attachments) should be submitted to the school's Ethics Committee where it will be considered by the Chair before it can be approved.

B. I consider that this project **may** have ethical implications that should be brought before the Departmental Ethics Committee, and /or it will be carried out with children or other vulnerable populations.	X

Please see information in Track B form below.

Track B has been selected due to the potentially sensitive nature of the study content.

This form should be submitted to the School's Ethics Committee for consideration.
If any of the above information is missing, your application will be returned to you.

I am familiar with the BPS Guidelines for ethical practices in psychological research, and the University Regulations for Ethical Research (and have discussed them with other researchers involved in the project or my supervisor)

Signed…Natasha Dale Print Name…Natasha Dale Date…04/04/2018
(UG/PG Researcher(s), if applicable) Email… 14470354@students.lincoln.ac.uk

Signed…Stefano Belli Print Name…Stefano Belli Date…04/04/18
(Lead Researcher or Supervisor) Email… sbelli@lincoln.ac.uk

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This project has been considered using agreed Departmental procedures and is now approved.

Signed……..Print Name……..Date……..
(Chair, Departmental Ethics Committee)

EA2

Ethical Approval Form:

Please word-process this form, handwritten applications will not be accepted

UNIVERSITY OF LINCOLN

This form must be completed for each piece of research activity whether conducted by academic staff, research staff, graduate students or undergraduates. The completed form must be approved by the designated authority within the College.

Please complete all sections. If a section is not applicable, write N/A.

1 Name of Applicant	Natasha Dale	
	School: Psychology	College: Social science
2 Position in the University	MSc by research student	
3 Role in relation to this research	Researcher	
4 Brief statement of main Research Question	What role in prejudice against women do gender role violations play? Are they as key in understanding prejudice against lesbians as first thought?	
5 Brief Description of Project	The proposed research investigates gender identity of lesbian women and the associated stereotypes, attitudes and behaviours towards this group. This research will gather data on the prevalence of heteronormativity, a concept that socially enforces heterosexual roles and gender binary associated behaviours (Habarth, 2015). This research also intends to investigate its theoretical underpinning to gender role violations. One study will be fully between subjects, using four vignettes that manipulate sexual orientation and gender identity in a 2*2 experimental design. This is similar to the work of Collier, Bos and Standfort (2012), which assessed attitudes towards gender role violations in both homosexual men and women. Within the current study, there will be two masculine presenting vignettes (one heterosexual, one homosexual) and two feminine presenting vignettes (one heterosexual, one homosexual). These vignettes will be piloted on a small sample to ensure they provide enough context and information for the participants, but also compel	

	participants to personally add to the vague detail (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The sample will aim to be a university student based, but remain open to the general public. Participants will answer questionnaires that are related to the vignette. A modified version of the modern Homonegatvity Scale – Lesbian women (Morrison & Morrison, 2002) is proposed. This will test non-pejorative based attitudes towards the sexuality and gender of the vignette. The other proposed questionnaires are stereotype based and investigate societal perceptions of Warmth and Competence (Fiske et al, 2002) of the vignette. In addition, perceptions of societal emotions and behaviours towards the vignettes will be collected (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007; Fiske et al, 2002). Lastly, the Social Distance Measure (Link et al, 1987) will be used to measure covert avoidance in relation to the vignettes. The other study conducted within this research will use an individual differences design and focus on creating a model of best fit, including gender identity as a factor affecting other variables. As this research is exploratory, several scales have been proposed to use. They represent variables covering behavioural intention (Huic et al, 2016; Link et al, 1987), perceptions of lesbian normative gender role violation (Doyle et al, 2015) and measure of attitude, similarly to the other proposed study in this research. Multiple scales are proposed for attitudes towards lesbians as their theoretical backgrounds vary from homophobia (Herek, 1988), stereotypes (Massey, 2009) and homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Several behavioural intention scales are proposed for a similar reason. For example, more modern attitudes such as the Modern Homonegativity Scale, have been evidenced to correlate with more covert behaviour (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). To ensure that these two studies reach a wide sample of participants, undergraduate students from the school of psychology will be approached to volunteer to help distribute the studies. These students will reach out to other students to distribute the study. A snowballing sample will therefore be gained. By operating this way, it is intended that a primarily university sample would be attempted to reach first. A more generalised sample will be reached out too otherwise. Other methods of recruitment will be to use the SONA system and to post the online questionnaire on social media and forums. Standardised instructions will be used for both these methods and examples can be seen in the appendix. Posters have also been created to advertise both the studies and the volunteer opportunity to students. To reward and compensate both the individuals who participate and volunteer, three prize draws will be made and one person from each draw will win a gift card.

	Approximate Start Date: 14/05/18	Approximate End Date: 15/08/18
6 Name of Principal Investigator or Supervisor	Stefano Belli	
	Email address: sbelli@lincoln.ac.uk	Telephone: 01522886738
7 Names of other researchers or student investigators involved	1. Patrick Hylton 2. Ava Horowitz	
8 Location(s) at which project is to be carried out	Online, social media and forums. Online, distribution through undergraduate volunteers.	

9 Statement of the ethical issues involved and how they are to be addressed –including a risk assessment of the project based on the vulnerability of participants, the extent to which it is likely to be harmful and whether there will be significant discomfort.	Informed consent will be gained through a thorough brief outlining the study. The outline will be vague as not to hinder the study, but a detailed outline will be provided in the debrief (see appendices). An informed consent checklist will ensure that participants understand their involvement and participant rights before beginning the study. The research topics could be considered sensitive as they cover gender, sexuality and prejudice. Steps therefore have been taken to address this. The views expressed in the questionnaires are sensitive as they are derogatory,

(This will normally cover such issues as whether the risks/adverse effects **associated with the project have** **been dealt with and whether the benefits of research outweigh the** **risks)**	and endorse negative stereotypes of homosexual women. There is a disclaimed in the brief and introduction to the study for this reason. It reads "The information shared does not represent the beliefs of myself or the other researchers involved". There is no perceived risk to participants however information for LBGT+ charities and places to discuss the nature of this research, will be given. Steps have also been taken to ensure that participants do not feel judged on their answers. For example, the standardised instructions include the quote "all opinions welcome". The brief and introduction also states "There are no wrong answers and all opinions are valued". Participants will be able to withdraw at any time during a two week period using the email soprec@lincoln.ac.uk. All information will be anonymous and confidential using a participant code which does not include personal information about themselves. Participants will be fully debriefed, including information about the questions the participants had been answering and the areas of investigation. Contact information for at least one of my supervisors and I, will be given in the brief and debrief. Withdrawal information will be given again at the end of the study. To protect anonymity when conducting the prize draws, I will store participant contact details separate to their other data. Participation in the draw will be totally optional and not affect the participants other rights regarding the study. For the draw regarding the volunteers, they will be made aware that it is to reward them for their time.

Ethical Approval From Other Bodies

10 Does this research require the **approval of an external body ?**	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☒
	If "Yes", please state which body:-

11 Has ethical approval already been obtained from that body ?	**Yes** ☐ **-Please append documentary evidence to this form.** **No** ☐ **If "No", please state why not:-** **Please note that any such approvals must be obtained and documented before the project begins.**

APPLICANT SIGNATURE

I hereby request ethical approval for the research as described above.

I certify that I have read the University's ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH HUMANS AND OTHER ANIMALS.

Ndale 02/05/18

Applicant Signature **Date**

Natasha Dale

PRINT NAME

H. Study 2 Questionnaires

Gender Role Violation Questionnaire - Lesbian only version. - Doyle, C., Rees, A., & Titus, T. (2015).

Instruction: Please answer these questioned based on the definition that a gender role violation is something women should not do because they are female.

1: not a violation. 2: somewhat of a violation. 3. Neither. 4: definite violation 5: extreme violation

A woman has spiked hair. What is your opinion?

A woman has spiked hair. What is society's opinion?

A woman sits with legs open. What is your opinion?

A woman sits with legs open. What is society's opinion?

A woman wears a suit and tie. What is your opinion?

A woman wears a suit and tie. What is society's opinion?

A woman does not wear makeup. What is your opinion?

A woman does not wear makeup. What is society's opinion?

A woman dates another woman. What is your opinion?

A woman dates another woman. What is society's opinion?

A woman is in a committed relationship with another woman. What is your opinion?

A woman is in a committed relationship with another woman. What is society's opinion?

A woman has sex with another woman. What is your opinion?

A woman has sex with another woman. What is society's opinion?

A woman marries another woman. What is your opinion?

A woman marries another woman. What is society's opinion?

Attitude measures

Modern Homonegativity Scale – Lesbian Women. Morrison, M. A., & Morrison, T. G. (2002).

1: strongly disagree, 2: disagree, 3: neither agree nor disagree, 4: agree, 5: strongly agree.

1. The notion of universities providing degrees in gay and lesbian studies is ridiculous.*

2. Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.*

3. Rachel tends to shove her life

Lesbian women should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.*

4. Lesbian women seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.*

5. Many lesbian women use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special rights and privileges.*

6. Lesbian women have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.*

7. Lesbian women who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage.* (R)

8. In today's tough economic times, Canadians' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support lesbian organizations.*

9. If lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.*

10. Lesbian women should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.*

11. Lesbian women no longer need to protest for equal rights.

12. Lesbian women have all the rights they need.

Attitudes Toward Lesbians Scale - Herek, G. M. (1988).

1 Strongly disagree, 2 somewhat disagree, 3 slightly disagree, 4 disagree, 5 agree, 6 somewhat agree, 7 strongly disagree

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.

2. A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.*

3. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.

4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behaviour should be loosened.*

5. Female homosexuality is a sin.

6. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.

7. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.*

8. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.

9. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.

10. Lesbians are sick.

Short form items are 1, 4, 5, 7, 10 (ATL-S)

Covert behaviour measures

Social distance measure -Link, B., Cullen, F., Frank, J., & Wozniak, J. (1987).

0: definitely willing, 1: probably willing, 2: probably unwilling, 3: definitely unwilling

How would you feel about renting a room in your home to a lesbian?

How about as a worker on the same job as a lesbian?

How would you feel having a lesbian as a neighbour?

How about as the caretaker of your children for a couple of hours?

How about having your children marry a gay woman?

How would you feel about introducing a lesbian to a young woman you are friendly with?

How would you feel about recommending a lesbian for a job working for a friend of yours?

Overt behaviour measures

Proportion of individual responses to statements concerning the willingness to engage in positive behaviours, aimed at improving the social status of homosexuals - Huic, A., Jelic, M., & Kamenov, Z. (2016).

1 not at all willing, 2 slightly willing, 3 neither willing nor unwilling, 4 somewhat willing 5 yes, completely willing.

Instruction: please indicate how willing you would be to engage in these behaviours.

1. Visiting cultural events (e.g. Queer festival)

2. Signing a petition for the increase in or implementation of rights of homosexual persons

3. Advocating for the equality of homosexual persons in discussions/conversations with friends or acquaintances

4. Taking part in the gay pride parade

5. Voting to increase or implement the rights of homosexual persons

6. Taking part in the work of NGOs that advocate for the persons of homosexual orientation

Proportion of affirmative responses to statements concerning the willingness to discriminate against homosexuals. - Huic, A., Jelic, M., & Kamenov, Z. (2016).

Willing (yes) or not willing (no) to engage in the negative behaviour.

Instruction: please indicate how willing you would be to engage in these behaviours.

1. If I were selecting an associate for an important and well-paid job, I would prefer to select a heterosexual rather than a homosexual person.

2. If there were a task that I needed help with in my work, I would prefer to seek assistance from a heterosexual than homosexual colleague.

3. If I were making decisions about enrolment in university or about job candidates in the workplace, and was presented with two candidates with the same number of points, I would give preference to the heterosexual person.

4. In elections, I would not give my vote to the homosexual candidate, even if this person has the same qualifications and experience as the heterosexual candidate.

5. If I needed to select a teammate for a group sport, I would prefer to select a heterosexual person, even if a homosexual one is better at this sport.

6. During a trip, I would prefer to share a room with a heterosexual than a homosexual person of my gender.

7. If I were renting out a flat, I would prefer to have a heterosexual than a homosexual person as a tenant.

8. If I found out that my physician is homosexual, I would seek another one.

9. If I found out that my child's teacher is homosexual, I would have my child transferred to another class.

10. If I found out that one of my friends is homosexual, I would stop spending time with her/him.

11. If I found out that the sport personality I support is homosexual, I would stop supporting her/him.

12. I would not buy a house or a flat if I found out that the next door neighbours are homosexual.

13. If a homosexual couple were to sit next to me on a bus, I would move.

14. I would renounce my child if he/she told me he/she is homosexual.

Heteronormativity - Habarth, J. (2015).

0: strongly agree, 1: slightly agree, 2: agree, 3: neither, 4: disagree, 5: slightly disagree, 6: strongly disagree

Essential Sex and Gender Subscale

1. Masculinity and femininity are determined by biological factors, such as genes and hormones, before birth.

2. There are only two sexes: male and female

3. All people are either male or female

4. Gender is the same thing as sex.

5. Sex is complex; in fact, there might even be more than two sexes.

6. Gender is a complicated issue, and it does not always match up with biological sex.

7. People who say that there are only two legitimate genders are mistaken.

8. Gender is something we learn from society.

Normative Behaviour Subscale

9. In intimate relationships, women and men take on roles according to gender for a reason; it is really the best way to have a successful relationship.

10. In intimate relationships, people should act only according to what is traditionally expected of their gender.

11. It is perfectly okay for people to have intimate relationships with people of the same sex.

12. The best way to raise a child is to have a mother and a father raise the child together.

13. In healthy intimate relationships, women may sometimes take on stereotypical 'male' roles, and men may sometimes take on stereotypical 'female' roles.

14. Women and men need not fall into stereotypical gender roles when in an intimate relationship.

15. People should partner with whomever they choose, regardless of sex or gender.

16. There are particular ways that men should act and particular ways that women should act in relationships.

I. .<u>Debriefs.</u>

Differences between study 1 and 2 are shown in bold and italicised.

Thank you for taking the time to be a part of this study.

I will now explain the nature of this study, as it wasn't stated explicitly in the brief to ensure I didn't influence your opinions. I am investigating the attitudes towards lesbians and the stereotypes and prejudices against them.

Study 1:

You took part in one of four conditions; answering questions about either a masculine presenting or feminine presenting heterosexual or homosexual woman. This is important to look at as evidence has found that some people expect homosexual women to have different behaviour to their heterosexual peers due to stereotypes. The implicit inversion theory states that homosexual people have the polar opposite traits that heterosexuals have, a belief that is rooted in the assumption that masculinity and femininity are defined as opposite of each other (Kite and Deux, 1987). Theory suggests that this is due to the heteronormative presumption of society which prescribes gender roles expected of women in their relation to men. Heteronormativity enforces pressure towards heterosexuality and the gender binary (Habarth, 2015). I am looking into the

gender identity of women, especially lesbian women to identify the significance of the role of gender identity on prejudiced attitudes. You answered a modified version of the modern homonegativity scale, which reflects modern justification for the differences between homosexual and heterosexual people (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Less traditional homophobia has been recorded in recent years (Jäckle, & Wenzelburger, 2014) however homonegativity has shown to be a distinct form of prejudice rooted in different justification. For example it focuses on 1: Homosexual individuals making unreasonable demands for change (such as spousal rights). 2: Homosexual individuals speaking up about discrimination, as this is presumed to be a thing of the past. 3: Homosexual individuals exaggerating the importance of sexual preference (celebration, identity), as this prevents assimilation into mainstream culture (Morrison & Morrison, 2002).

I am also interested in how individuals choose, or choose not to, distance themselves from homosexual women. This is because high homonegativity scorers, have been evidenced to present covert avoidance of women presumed to be lesbian (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). This element is crucial to homosexuality research as it has also been shown that contact with and closeness to homosexual individuals, is indirectly associated with positive attitudes towards these groups (Chonody, Kavanagh, & Woodford, 2016). This highlights that LGBT awareness and closeness is impactful in reducing prejudice against these groups.

Lastly, you also answered questions about how the UK perceives the four conditions. I am interested studying the stereotype content, emotions and associated behaviours between heterosexual and homosexual women through their gender identity. This study will bring together past research (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002; Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007; Vaughn, Teeters, Sadler & Cronan 2017) to include gender identity and seek more complex understanding of its role in stereotypes.

Study 2:

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the questionnaires you have answered, interact with each other. The intention of this study is to create a model that explains how attitudes, behavioural intention and gender role violations and the theory of heteronormativity interact. This is exploratory in nature, however is founded in evidence of links in other literature. It is proposed that discrimination against sexual minorities results not only from a negative reaction to sexual orientation, but perceived violations of traditional gender roles (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Patterns of lesbians being perceived as less feminine and more masculine was found amongst those with high prejudice (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Research on gender roles has been vast, and a strong link between gender role nonconformity has also shown to be a key factor in presuming the sexual preference of a target (Kite & Deux, 1987, Whitley, 2001). Therefore I am proposing to explore its relationship with further variables such as attitudes and behaviours towards lesbians. This has been

effective in other research, for example, acceptance of gender nonconformity has been shown to explain the relationship between prejudice and contact in male participants (Collier, Bos & Standfort, 2012).

If you are a member of the LBGT+ community and feel affected by the opinions in this study, please seek support. Helpful links may include:

LGBT foundation. A charity and helpline that's been running for 35 years with both email and telephone helplines: helpline@lgbt.foundation or call 0345 3 30 30 3.

Stonewall. Britain's largest LBGT charity, email: http://www.stonewall.org.uk/

University of Lincoln LBGT+ society, email: lbgt@lincolnsu.com

Anyone is also welcome to contact me at ndale@lincoln.ac.uk for questions about the study. My supervisor is also contactable by email at sbelli@lincoln.ac.uk. You may withdraw up to 2 weeks after completing the study by contacting the Ethics Committee soprec@lincoln.ac.uk. You are reminded that to do this, all you need to do is quote your participant number which is the initials of a parent and the date of the test (day:month), i.e.: LD2510 and the title of the study.

To be entered into a prize draw please follow the below link to provide an email I could contact you on should you win. Please note this does not affect your anonymity and will be processed separate to the data you have provided today. Participation is optional and your participant rights will not be affected.

Thank you again for taking the time to participate.